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The Week

ACCORDING to all accounts, Congressmen have been receiving from their districts many protests against the authorization of a program of naval construction as large as that which the administration has proposed. They are likely, consequently, to limit the size of the program. In view of the recent conciliatory attitude of the British government, it is extremely desirable both that they should moderate the size of their program and that they should continue to give the President power in certain contingencies to suspend construction. What the United States needs is not a huge navy but an agreement with Great Britain about the limit and the future disposition of sea power. In order to reach such an agreement, it is desirable that the British navy should not retain an overwhelming preponderance in the class of vessel which would be of most use for commerce-destroying, viz., the fast and big cruiser, but it is equally important that the American program should not aim at a preponderance which would be interpreted in Great Britain as unfriendly and threatening behavior on our part. Both governments should look forward, that is, to a renewal of the negotiations which broke down at Geneva, and neither should do anything to compromise the success of the negotiations when they are eventually resumed.

MR. Hoover's announcement that he is a candidate for the Republican nomination for President, accompanied as it is by a challenge to the Republican machine of Ohio, will, we hope, ultimately result in some discussion of issues and some revelation of personal programs. So far as possible, however, Mr. Hoover himself in his preliminary publicity has scrupulously refused to give any part of himself away. All that he will confide to the voters is that he considers himself the inheritor of the Coolidge principles, that he does not wish or intend to spend very much money, and that, as he sees it, he could not make a personal campaign without a loss of dignity. His statement is over-cautious and unnecessarily reticent. Of course, his best chance of the nomination is to suck all the benefit he can from his association with the President, and as a member of Mr. Coolidge's cabinet he obviously is obliged to emphasize his agreement with his chief, but he might none the less have indicated his recognition that an essential part of his strength springs from the general popular appreciation of his differences in temperament and point of view from Mr. Coolidge. He would have done better in this first statement of his to have said something which would have revealed his personal preferences in ideas and policy and to have interested in his success the progressive wing of his party. His opponents in Ohio and elsewhere will, we hope, force out of him some more explicit indication of what kind of President he proposes to be.

THE daily press has persistently reported the Havana conference in terms of a series of fights; and it is true that plenty of differences of opinion have been displayed there. As was predicted before the conference began, however, there has never been any great danger that these differences would result in important alteration of the present scheme of things. The United States will continue to dom-

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inate the Pan-American Union and to exert its influence, military and political, in the countries bordering the Caribbean, whenever and however it pleases. The Latin diplomats have made mild protest at Havana, in most cases for home consumption; but the result has always been a foregone conclusion. Much has been made of the fact that Señor Pueyrredon stood out for including in the new convention for the Pan-American Union a clause against "economic barriers"; but, in fact, it did not much matter whether his action prevented unanimous acceptance of the new convention, since it was not proposed to change the status or functions of the Union in any important particular, and failure to ratify the new charter would mean simply that it would continue as heretofore. Latin America is at present neither in the position nor the mood to challenge the United States, though the day is approaching when it is probable that both of these inhibitions will have been removed.

HARDLY had the New Republic pointed out that Governor Smith could differentiate his attitude toward the national economy from that of Secretary Hoover by showing serious concern over unemployment, before Governor Smith requested the agencies concerned with the problem to make a quick survey of the situation in New York so that remedial measures might be undertaken—perhaps by the pushing of public works. This action was not, we are convinced, a political move made in response to our suggestion. It was the natural action of an alert and efficient governor, whose attention had already been called to the existence of widespread unemployment by his own Industrial Commissioner and unofficial bodies. The state, as a result of previous crises of the sort, has the outline of a plan for relief which may be quickly applied. Governor Smith's attention to this matter does, indeed, contrast favorably with the national government's silence and inaction. If, in addition to doing what he can in his own state, the Governor will show the deep significance of unemployment in relation to national economic problems, he will make another well deserved contribution to the strength of his campaign. For unemployment does not arise in one state alone, and single states cannot do all that might be done to minimize it. Even a state executive who is not an avowed candidate for the presidency might logically draw this conclusion.

VICE-PRESIDENT Dawes did well in asking to be excused from appointing the members of the committee to investigate the power industry, should the Walsh resolution be passed by the Senate, because of his personal holdings in public utilities. As a presidential candidate, he could not afford to be accused of appointing investigators favorable to his own interests, while as a utility man and a banker who is regarded as friendly by large financial interests, he might have found it embarrassing to appoint less complaisant committeemen. At the same time it should be remembered that there are wiser heads in the electric industry who believe that for that industry's own good some limit should be set to the more reprehensible practices in which parts of it have recently been indulging. It will not lose public confidence in the long run by being subjected to adequate regulation, and if it is not adequately regulated, the movement for public ownership may show unsuspected strength. Lower rates and wider use would, furthermore, be of positive benefit to the manufacturers of equipment, if not to the utilities themselves. No industry of such fundamental importance can long remain in a healthy condition if it indulges in too marked an exploitation of monopoly powers.

WHILE Count Stephen Bethlen, the dictator-premier of Hungary, likes to issue statements for foreign consumption, in which he points at the swift progress of political consolidation in his domain, his well disciplined tribunals continue to pass sentences which show that Hungary is still in the throes of the counter-revolution. A shocking sentence has just been imposed upon Baron Louis Hatvany, one of the outstanding representatives of modern Hungarian literature, and an author of European renown. The charge against him was that he "defamed the Hungarian nation," and this accusation was based upon the fact that the Baron published seven articles in a Vienna newspaper more than five years ago, in which he launched vigorous attacks against the reactionary governmental system of Hungary. The court sentenced the Baron to seven years' imprisonment—one year of hard labor for every article he wrote—and in addition imposed upon him a fine of $500,000.

RARELY has a sentence so cruel and so shamelessly unjust been inflicted. The man whom it is intended to crush has never been a politician and has never had an active part in the turbulent political affairs of Hungary. He was solely, and eminently, a man of letters, an author of fine literary essays and successful dramas, a man of strong patriotic feeling and of rather conservative leanings in politics. Seven years in jail is equivalent to a death sentence for this man of feeble constitution, and the confiscation of his fortune will render himself, his wife and children penniless. No wonder that this flagrant violation of human justice and human rights has aroused a storm of protests in the literary circles of Europe. It is to be hoped that the writers of this country will add their protest to that of their European *confrères*.

A FEW years ago, it was the habit to explain the professional patriots as a post-war symptom, intensified by the Russian Revolution but sure to decline as the passions of the combat subsided. It is now more than nine years since the Armistice; yet we

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find these gentry as active as ever, and seemingly more successful than at any time in the past. They flourish particularly in the Middle West, where any dissent from majority opinion is fought with great vigor and little regard for truth or fair play. As the New York World has just reminded us in a series of articles on this subject, the purpose of the patrioteers, whether they are military men or civilians, is to shut off discussion of foreign policy and military matters except when it is carried on by reactionaries and jingoes. Whenever anyone who does not support their views is announced as a speaker anywhere, they begin an instant bombardment of the organization which is sponsoring him, and of the local newspapers, in an effort to get his engagement cancelled. They are also circulating at the present time a blacklist containing the name of almost every well known speaker on public questions in the United States, and are threatening vengeance against the clubs and public forums if any of these individuals is in future allowed to appear.

THE patrioteers never make any attempt to refute the arguments of those who disagree with them. They pay, in fact, no attention to what their opponents say. Their object is to prevent discussion, an aim in which they are today succeeding to a startling degree. Those who conduct forums and club meetings, particularly in small communities, are usually without specific information with which to contradict the scurrilous and often libelous charges made by the professional patriots. Rarely are they inclined to make a fight for freedom of opinion at the risk of bringing down upon themselves the wrath of the local American Legion, the conservative newspapers, and the chamber of commerce.

PERHAPS no better medium for dispelling anti-Russian prejudices could have been devised than the exhibition which the Committee on Cultural Relations with Russia has brought to this country. Here we saw in graphic form the fruits of a great nation's determined industry, its deep-seated earnestness and self-conscious concern over its welfare and well-being. One imagines that many items of the exhibition—with the exception of certain forms of exquisite hand-craft—could have been duplicated readily by the United States, that is, if the United States felt the same compulsion to justify its faith and its works to the world. The charts and the statistical tables indicating progress since the Revolution were strikingly American in purport, but not in form and execution. The esthetic impulse with its peculiarly Russian thrust was there to remind us of the vast distinctions between the two countries. If the Committee on Cultural Relations with Russia will continue to give us these intimate glimpses into the life of the new Russia, it will have more than justified its existence—and at the same time it may create confusion in the minds of those who think too rigorously in political terms. Many a propagandist who viewed the exhibition must have murmured to himself, "Not by their words but by their works shall they be known."

Plutocracy and Corruption

THE most astonishing and, until recently, the most inexplicable aspect of the political record of the past five years has been the attitude of the Coolidge administration and the Republican party toward the notorious facts of corruption. The more you think of it the more astounding it is—astounding not only as an attitude and a policy but because of the singular success with which Mr. Coolidge and his associates have held and pursued it. Yet from that really historic day—January 24, 1924—more than four years ago, when Doheny admitted sending Fall his $100,000 cash in the little black bag, until last week, when Stewart, of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, was cited by the Senate of the United States for contempt in refusing to answer questions calculated to reveal the disposition of the $3,000,000 profits of the Continental Oil Company, which had been denounced by the Supreme Court in scalding terms—in all that period, no responsible person in the administration and no spokesman for the Republican party has by word or deed, or even a look, so much as indicated a knowledge that there existed any such thing as an oil scandal. After he had appointed counsel—just ahead of the passage of a Senate resolution directing him to do so—to conduct the government's case—an action which could not have been avoided—after that, Mr. Coolidge has completely ignored the very existence of either the cases or the men.

Throughout all the sensational developments since the suits were first brought, including the recovery of the oil reserves, the forced restitution of many millions to the government, the branding of the men concerned by the Supreme Court as corrupt conspirators—through all this, neither Calvin Coolidge nor Andrew Mellon nor any of the eminent lawyers, administrators and business men connected with the administration has ever said a word or made a sign to indicate even the remotest interest in the affair. Mr. Coolidge's own attitude has been conspicuously equivocal and subdued. There has been every indication on his part of a disposition to hush matters up. He refused to get rid of Denby and Daugherty until the Senate forced his hand. He tried to pick a personal quarrel with the Senate because it insisted on aggressive measures. So far as is known, no one either publicly or privately has heard him mention the names of Fall, Sinclair, Doheny, Daugherty, Forbes or Miller. When the United States attorney of the southern district of New York labored to convict Daugherty and Miller, and succeeded in one instance and almost in the other, he did not receive any encouragement or posi-

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tive support from Mr. Coolidge or the Attorney General. The President has adopted an analogous policy toward the Pennsylvania and Illinois primary-election disclosures. The names of Vare, of Smith and of Insull are as completely overlooked at the White House as the others. His policy is to ignore the oil scandals, to ignore the slush-fund exposures, to ignore every discreditable thing and person connected with the Republican party.

In the recent discussions in the Senate, the Republicans have carried the policy of silence so far that they virtuously refuse to mention the word oil. Even the most loquacious of the administration Senators appear to lose all power of speech. This was never more noticeable than a few days ago, when Senator Walsh of Montana cited for contempt the truculent and patronizing Mr. Stewart for his flat refusal to give the Committee information concerning the Continental Oil Company. On the Democratic side, man after man got up and spoke, denouncing Stewart's attitude and calling attention to various outrageous phases in the whole business, including the perfectly absurd court delays. On the Republican side, not a man peeped, except Borah. The regulars sat in embarrassed silence, but voted for the Walsh resolution. If they voted for the resolution, would it not have been natural for at least one regular Republican to have said a word to indicate his feelings? Was it not unnatural not to? Would you not think that among all the Republicans in House and Senate there would be at least one who would arise some day and indicate that he knew there was such a word as "oil" in the dictionary, and that he had at least heard of Doheny, Fall, Sinclair and Daugherty? The extraordinary unanimity and consistency with which Republican leaders have ignored this subject, which in the past four years has consumed more columns in the newspapers than any other, either political or non-political, seems really incredible. The most incredible part about it, however, is that they got by with it.

There is only one sufficient explanation of this policy of silence. Neither Mr. Coolidge nor Mr. Mellon nor any other regular Republican leader has had the least sympathy with the efforts of the Senate Committee to get to the bottom of the whole rotten business. Every last one of them would like to see the subject dropped and never referred to again. This attitude on their part has hampered the progress of the investigation and, except for fortunate accidents, might have frustrated its purposes. It has encouraged recalcitrant witnesses to persist in their silence and continue the fight to the last gasp in the courts. Had there been any indication, either in the White House or anywhere else among Republican leaders, of a genuine desire to uncover all the facts and punish every guilty person, if there had not been a deliberate attempt to make these investigations appear partisan by leaving them entirely to the Democrats, there would have been infinitely less recalcitrancy upon the part of witnesses, and these fellows—all of them—would have long ago taken their medicine. Instead of that, we find them, in one case, casually absent from their own criminal trials, and in the other, entertaining socially in Havana and elsewhere leading Republican Senators, who vote for the Walsh resolution in public, but privately explain that Stewart is a splendid fellow whom it is outrageous to treat in this way.

The obvious explanation is and always has been that Mr. Coolidge and the regular Republican leaders could not afford and did not dare to have all the facts laid bare. It is not that they personally profited by the corruption. Neither Mr. Coolidge nor any other present leader or official is directly tainted by the scandalous proceedings of the Harding administration. But in order to account for their behavior, they must have been concerned indirectly. They must have been aware of facts which, if divulged, would injure the public credit of themselves and their party and which, consequently, they did their best to suppress. The obvious assumption is that some of the facts involved the behavior of the late President Harding himself, and there is sufficient reason to suspect that some of them do. But part of the tainted money, it has been proved, was used to pay some of the Republican 1920 deficit. If there were traced to the Republican Committee more of the Liberty bonds which formed part of the $3,000,000 profits on the Continental Oil deal, we would finally have a complete and an extremely discreditable explanation of the amazing attitude of Mr. Coolidge and the regular Republicans toward the oil scandals. They must have known that if all the facts came out it would look very much as if the Republican National Committee had allowed corrupt private interests to make millions of dollars out of public property, some of which they accepted to pay the debts of the party. That is why the Republicans, headed by Coolidge, have been silent about the oil scandals of the Harding administration and have done as much as they dare to suppress instead of to uncover the facts. While not themselves participating in the corruption, they behaved as accomplices after the event.

The successive revelations which go to make up the oil scandals might seem to an unbiased mind to build up into one of the most damaging and unanswerable indictments which the behavior of a national party and a responsible government has ever invited. Next to being corrupt, complacency and inertia in the face of corruption is the unforgivable offense, and the business leaders of the country, with one or two exceptions, the leaders of the Republican party, with scarcely any exceptions, and many of the most important newspapers have assumed an attitude toward the oil scandals of complacency and indifference. This complacency and inertia in the face of corruption is, of course, the natural result of the existing relation between politics and business in this country. The Republican party represents

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primarily the subordination of government to business. This subordination makes business profits at many points dependent upon political favors, and it gives the politicians a valid claim upon business men to pay political expenses. These recent scandals are the direct effects of this relationship. Politicians demand enormous sums of money in order to carry elections. It is difficult to get the money in sufficiently large amounts without appealing to business men who in return demand and are willing to pay for special opportunities of profiting at the public expense. As long as government remains subordinate to business and business itself refuses to recognize that government represents in relation to business a public interest which private business cannot satisfy, it is inevitable that a great deal of corruption will poison their relation one to another. Corruption is one of the unavoidable maladies of a plutocratic government.

Pro-Trust Legislation

IN the early days of anti-trust agitation in the United States, it was the oil industry which furnished the chief spur to restrictive action. The Standard Oil Company was the first large combination to be "dissolved" under the Sherman law by order of the courts. It is, therefore, a curious incident that the first significant proposal for relaxing the anti-trust legislation—and we are likely to have others in the near future—should originate in oil.

A committee of the Federal Oil Conservation Board has recently reported its recommendations for eliminating waste in crude-oil recovery, and for stabilizing the business. It advises:

> 1. Federal legislation which shall (a) unequivocally declare that agreements for the coöperative development and operation of single pools are not in violation of the federal anti-trust laws and (b) permit, under suitable safeguards, the making, in times of overproduction, of agreements between oil producers for the curtailment of production.
>
> 2. Similar legislation by the various oil-producing states.

The other recommendations are for the most part ancillary to these.

The reasons prompting such recommendations are by this time clear enough, having been pointed out by engineers again and again. There is enormous waste of gas, oil, money and effort incident to the present competitive methods of exploitation. Oil exists in large pools underground, usually associated with natural gas. The owner of the surface of the ground owns all the oil he can extract through his property. But his property is usually not coextensive with the whole pool. Numerous landowners tap the same underground source. The one who can get the most wells to this source ahead of the others makes the most profit. This makes for haste, which prevents saving the natural gas which may gush out when the pool is tapped, and prevents the use of careful methods by which alone the most complete recovery of oil can be attained. It makes for drilling the wells in the wrong places, so that the oil may be injured by seepage of water or made unrecoverable in other ways. It makes for far more wells than are needed to drain the field, thus raising the cost of recovery. And it makes for very rapid exploitation of a new field, whether the contents of that field are temporarily needed by the market or not. This leads to great unnecessary costs for storage, and the evaporation and fire-risk incident to storage. More oil is, on the whole, wasted by these absurdities than ever reaches the consumer.

One way of preventing such wastes would be to have each new pool controlled entirely by a single owner. But that is clearly impossible in many cases. Another way would be to permit no operations without a licence, and to regulate strictly the operations licensed. That is theoretically possible, but extremely difficult to effectuate. The third way, contemplated by this legislation, is to allow the creation of an economic pool above ground, paralleling the oil pool underground. Let the owners pool their interests, develop the oil as a unit in the way to insure the largest possible recovery, and share the profits. Let the producers restrict production when overproduction threatens. Then oil, gas, capital and effort will be saved.

All this is clearly contrary to the theory of the anti-trust legislation. The theory holds that competition is necessary to protect the public interest in quality and price. It holds that combinations "in restraint of trade" are not justifiable. The Supreme Court has, in effect, inserted the word "unreasonable" before "restraint," but there is no clear dividing line between the reasonable and the unreasonable restraints. It has long been argued that combinations and monopolies may make savings and eliminate wastes. But the theory has held that, however large such potential savings might be, the public must, at all events, be protected by competition.

The difference between the oil case and the theoretical case is, therefore, that here the possible savings, as demonstrated by unquestionable engineering and economic investigation, are so large that they can no longer be ignored. Must we, in such cases, give way before the operation of unrestricted monopoly? There the real issue will be found in future discussions of this kind. We must permit the monopoly; but in what way and to what extent should it be regulated? A pool in oil which can control production can also exert much control on prices and profits, if unchecked. Having admitted the principle that combination for the elimination of waste is permissible in oil, we shall be beset by demonstrations that such combinations are necessary, and should be permitted, in soft coal, in flour milling, in a dozen other industries. In the long run,

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exemption from the anti-trust laws is likely to be the rule. It is, therefore, most important that our first step in exemption should set up an adequate substitute for competition as a protection for the public.

We do not know in detail what the Oil Board recommends in this respect, except that permission to restrict production is to be granted only when a governmental authority declares overproduction to exist. This seems extremely vague and entirely too lax. The ingenuity of economists should be called in to devise adequate control. Our belief is that not less than something analogous to a modern and effective form of public-utility regulation should be insisted upon in exchange for exemption from the anti-trust laws. There might be uniform accounting methods to reveal actual investment and costs of doing business. Prices could be regulated to allow a reasonable return on investment, investment being determined on the original cost basis. In addition, due to different costs in different pools and fields, it will probably be necessary to devise a form of progressive taxation, so that when the marginal producer is making a fair profit, the more efficient producer's excessive profit will be taxed for the benefit of all. We have no doubt that the private interests concerned would strongly oppose such measures. Nor do we doubt that they would contend that strict regulation would remove all the incentive for combination. It would be necessary to allow some incentive to the competitors in order to induce them to combine. But it is fundamental that we should not permit monopoly except on terms that will prevent exploitation of the consumer.

What Price Electricity?

AMERICA, we say, is the land of mass production, mechanical appliances, and consequently of efficiency and high standards of living. When anyone wants to see an example, we usually point to the automobile industry. Yet there is another industry in which mass production and mechanical improvements have been even more striking. Great electric generating stations, of a type undreamed-of twenty-five years ago, make miraculously efficient utilization of power—water or coal. The current may be transmitted hundreds of miles over high-tension lines. It is carried into the factories and homes of consumers without the intervention of freight-trains, middlemen, merchants or delivery boys. We get it in any amount wanted just by turning a switch. Human labor plays less part, per unit of output, in this industry than in any other. Perhaps the reason we do not ordinarily point to it as an example of the beneficence of mechanization is because its development has not been accompanied by parallel reduction of prices and greatly enlarged consumption by everybody.

In Detroit, the electricity rates for homes averaged 5 cents in 1914 and 4.8 cents in 1926—a reduction of 4 percent. The price of automobiles, most of them made in Detroit, fell 14 percent in the same period—and the cars sold in 1926 were immeasurably better than those of 1914. The Electrical World recently published figures showing that, while in the four years ending in 1926 the average operating expense of the electrical industry per kilowatt-hour fell 4.25 percent, and the average interest which it paid on new loans fell 10 percent, its average selling price was reduced only 0.6 percent. This reduction was felt almost entirely by the large industrial and wholesale consumers of power. The same issue of this magazine shows that the average rates to power consumers declined 12 percent from 1923 to 1926, while the average rates to lighting consumers actually increased 3.7 percent.

Would cheaper electricity to the individual consumer be of great benefit? Tests in the state of Washington show that if a farmer grinds feed by electricity he will save 15 cents per bushel as compared with hauling to market—if the current costs only 3 cents per kilowatt-hour. (The rate paid by individual consumers is seldom less than twice as much as this, and often three or four times as much.) If he hoists hay by electricity at this rate, he will save 300 percent over the cost with boy and horse. He can save 25 percent in labor time in milking by electricity. He can use electric power advantageously for pumping water, for irrigation, for incubating and brooding chicks, for hot beds, for sterilizing dairy utensils, for sawing wood, for separating cream. And his wife can use it—and does so in Washington—for electric flat-iron, washing machine and vacuum cleaner. Most city dwellers also may benefit. They would, naturally, use many more of the familiar domestic devices if it cost less to operate them. But would it not be beyond the average householder's wildest dreams to heat his home by electricity, thus getting rid of coal dealers, ashes, and even of oil burners? In Tacoma, they do it. A consumer used for heating in one month 2,830 kilowatt-hours at a special heating rate of half a cent, thus paying $14.15. At the lowest rates in most cities the same amount of current would have cost him from $85 up. They are beginning to build homes in Tacoma without chimneys.

These achievements, we may be told, are due to the exploitation of abundant water power in Washington. Even if this were true, there are great sources of water power elsewhere in the United States. But the best steam installations can now generate electricity at only a few mills more than the cost of generating current by water power. The difference arises chiefly from two sources—the absence of excessive profit in the publicly owned Tacoma system, and the widespread use which itself springs from the lower rates. The first difference, which is by far the less important of the two, may be illustrated by referring to other relatively efficient publicly owned systems. Springfield, Illinois, has a lighting rate of 2.75 cents per kilowatt-hour after

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the first 100 hours, and for cooking, a rate of 1.5 cents. In Toronto the average cost of domestic electric service was only 1.7 cents per kilowatt-hour in 1926—this figure having been reduced from 4.5 cents in 1914. It is not true, as is so often stated, that these publicly owned systems are subsidized, directly or indirectly, out of taxes. They pay all their own costs, they pay amortization of their indebtedness, and they either develop a surplus or render services more than equivalent to any additional expense they might incur for taxes, if they were private concerns.

But the major difference lies in the fact that the costs per unit of current fall rapidly as the domestic or farm utilization of current increases. The investment in a distributing line is heavy per unit of current if only a small part of the current which that line might carry is used. This is the case where it is employed only for lighting, and especially so where, as in the country, the houses are relatively far apart. In Washington, the lower rates have led anywhere from 50 to 85 percent of the farmers adjacent to lines to avail themselves of the service, and most do so with other appliances than lighting bulbs. This lowers the unit cost, and sustains the system on the low rates which induced the wider use.

How the present large differential between ordinary consumers' rates and industrial power rates arose is explained in an excellent pamphlet by Morris L. Cooke, "What Price Electricity for Our Homes?"—from which many of the above facts are derived. In the beginning, electricity was used chiefly for lighting homes. Naturally there were wide variations in the demand for lighting current—more was wanted in the evening than in the daytime, and more in winter than in summer. The equipment had to be large enough to supply the peak demand. Lighting consumers were therefore charged with the entire cost of the investment. But if a demand could be developed in the slack hours, it could be met profitably at very low rates. This led to rates for power much lower than the lighting rates, too low to bear any of the overhead burden. In Pennsylvania, in 1924, the average rate paid by wholesale power consumers was 1.35 cents per kilowatt-hour, while the average rate paid by domestic consumers was 8.4 cents per kilowatt-hour, or over six times as much. Domestic rates are often ten times as high as power rates. The Electrical World has stated that of all the electricity generated in 1926 only 21 percent was used for light, yet that 21 percent returned 64 per cent of the total revenue.

Mr. Cooke makes clear that the condition which led to this discrepancy no longer obtains. So much electric power is now used by industries, and so much interconnection of systems exists, that the curve throughout the twenty-four hours is much smoother, and it is no longer necessary to base great classes of rates on the attempt to develop an off-peak demand. What is desirable chiefly is to develop all kinds of demand for the immense amounts of current which the modern facilities are able to generate. The greatest possibility in this direction now lies on the farm and in the home. "Instead of taking advantage of this opportunity the electric companies have, in general, stifled the use of electricity in the home by insisting on charging the enormous rates that are necessary where a consumer uses only a little current."

To lower the domestic rates it would not be necessary to increase the power rates. The technique of the industry has advanced so rapidly since its early days that these are now bearing their share of overhead costs, even though they have been so low. In the Ontario public system, where all rates are based on careful cost accounting—which is lacking in most private concerns—the average cost of power service was only $14.38 per horsepower-year in 1926, whereas on the American side of the Niagara River the power rates lay between $19 and $26 per horsepower-year.

Lower rates for domestic users are just and should be enforced, if necessary. According to Mr. Cooke they should not be more than three times the wholesale rate. But it is his hope that the power companies, taking advantage of the favorable opportunity to make the change presented by their present large profits, will lower their domestic rates voluntarily, and it is his belief that if they do so they will be amply remunerated by wider use. Certainly the community needs their wider use, and if it cannot achieve it in one way, it will eventually do so in another.

A Law against Injunctions?

STUDENTS of labor legislation in this country have often called attention to the ineptitude of many of the laws which the leaders of organized labor on the advice of its own lawyers have framed to cure what they take to be unfair discrimination against its legitimate interests. There have been many illustrations of mistakes of this kind. Organized labor, for instance, some years ago sought to condemn by law the exacting by employers of anti-union pledges. The state legislation by which it sought to accomplish this result was declared invalid by the Supreme Court in Coppage vs. Kansas. Yet many constitutional lawyers believe this extremely costly defeat to have been unnecessary. If the original legislation had pronounced the exacting of such promises to be a civil wrong rather than a crime, the federal courts would have found it less difficult to have held the law constitutional. It is an extremely serious and dubious matter to brand as a criminal an employer who exacts of an employee such a promise. There are many unpleasant and irrelevant collateral consequences attached to convictions of a crime, such, for instance, as the neces-

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sity of reciting the fact when applying for an automobile driver's licence and disqualification from jury duty. Culpable as it may be to exact an anti-union pledge, it is not culpable to the degree which, according to prevailing American ideas, would justify the law in condemning the offense as criminal. It is also extremely probable that the important legislation which was declared unconstitutional in Truax vs. Correfan would have been framed so as to avoid the grounds on which the Supreme Court condemned it as invalid.

Organized labor is falling into another similar mistake in advocating Senate Bill No. 1482, introduced by Senator Shipstead, which seeks to limit the jurisdiction of courts sitting in equity. The proposed legislation reads as follows:

> Equity courts shall have jurisdiction to protect property when there is no remedy at law; for the purpose of determining such jurisdiction, nothing shall be held to be property unless it is tangible and transferable, and all laws and parts of laws inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed.

The Committee of the Judiciary is now engaged in holding public hearings on this proposed legislation which is being supported apparently by the legal and publicity staff of the American Federation of Labor. Yet the bill, if passed, is practically certain to be declared unconstitutional, and even if valid it would be an ineffective and undesirable way of trying to get rid of the grievances which organized labor suffers from the present abuse of the injunction. It would throw out the baby with the bath, in that it would restrict resort to equity jurisdiction in controversies not involving labor in which equity now performs some of its most useful services. *Per contra,* in labor controversies it would still permit, as a manifestation of the inventive powers of courts in the exercise of their function of interpretation, some of the present abuses. The unions, for instance, cannot legitimately object to the use of the injunction in protecting patents, copyrights, trade names and trade marks and the good will of businesses against infringement and invasion by competitors. Yet the bill as it stands wipes out all such equity jurisdiction without providing any substitute device for the protection of these intangible values. It is not difficult to imagine what the Supreme Court would do to such rough treatment of undisputed but intangible classes of property.

There is, however, a still more unfortunate aspect of the matter. The Court, in order to hold the proposed statute unconstitutional, would be obliged to formulate new constitutional law respecting the scope of property and the rights of its owners; and this formulation would, in the circumstances, probably amplify the doctrine of due process and limit the scope of more carefully framed subsequent anti-injunction legislation. If asked to pass on the constitutionality of this proposed law, the Supreme Court would have to declare it invalid on one or more of the following grounds. It would declare, first, that to cut down the powers of a court of equity as radically as the legislation proposes is essentially to do a thing which is inconsistent with the very existence of a court of equity. It would contend, secondly, that courts of equity in the past have been doing nothing other or more than issuing injunctions which were intended to prevent present or anticipated injury to tangible or transferable property. Finally, it would insist that to take away the protection of a court of equity from the owner of intangible property is to deny him due process of law, while to leave that protection to the owner of tangible property would be to deny to the owner of intangible property the equal protection of the law.

The present abuse of the injunction calls for a remedy entirely different from the kind of blanket legislation which the Shipstead bill proposes. What the unions need for their protection is a bill which enumerates and condemns the specific evils in the present use of the injunction from the standpoint of both judicial practice and substantive law. The courts, for instance, grant temporary injunctions on proof by affidavits whose credibility is not subject to cross-examination and which is notoriously untrustworthy. They issue temporary injunctions in spite of the fact that the employer has no intention of prosecuting the case and of obtaining a permanent injunction. Inferior courts also issue temporary injunctions for wholly insufficient reasons. Yet it may take the union a year or more to secure a reversal from an upper court, and it may in the meantime lose its strike partly as a result of the injunction. Labor is entitled to legislation which will not only correct these procedural abuses, but which will specify the ends for which labor may strike and the practices which are to be prohibited. To draw up legislation of this kind would be a task of great difficulty which would require careful research, but the task is both possible and desirable, and it should be attempted. If such a bill were shrewdly drawn, there is no reason why legislatures would not pass it or why the Supreme Court should pronounce it unconstitutional.

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Smith of New York

I

GOVERNOR ALFRED E. SMITH[1] of New York occupies, it will be conceded, a unique place among American political leaders. There is no precedent for his prolonged and prodigious popularity, almost irrespective of party allegiance, in his own state, and I have seen as yet no sufficient explanation of it. But we may obtain a glimpse of such an explanation by scrutinizing his career in politics and by distinguishing its differences from the careers of his contemporaries. Notwithstanding the real or apparent simplicity of the man, his political personality betrays as the result of analysis paradoxical aspects which may throw light upon the sources of his strength and success. Let us inquire, consequently, what these paradoxical aspects are.

Al Smith had the advantage for a political leader of being born and educated in a well developed, self-contained and in a sense homogeneous community. I do not mean New York City, which is as far as possible from being in any but a legal sense a community. I mean Tammany Hall. It is usually unfortunate for a man or a woman with political gifts and ambitions to be born in New York or any other large American city. New York, Philadelphia and Chicago are political and social hodge-podges, composed of many ill-adjusted interests, many undomesticated racial groups and many divided and suspicious economic classes. The official spokesmen of American city electorates either represent nothing at all except a dominant special interest, or they build up for their own benefit some artificial combination of interests without direction, endurance or vitality. Tammany Hall, on the other hand, is the most suggestive example of the growth in the social tissue of a sprawling modern American city of a peculiarly political community. It exists in order to govern for the benefit of its members an unwieldy and haphazard collection of racial and economic groups. It provides a fireside, a refuge, a leadership and a kind of political education for the poorer citizens of foreign birth. They pay with their votes, which enable Tammany to distribute among the faithful the emoluments, the immunities, and often the corrupt or semi-corrupt opportunities of political power.

[1] The reader who would like to look into Governor Smith's record for himself can summon two useful books to his assistance. One of them, which is called "Up from the Streets," is written by Norman Hapgood and Henry Moskowitz, and is published by Harcourt, Brace and Company, and is a complete compendium of all the accessible facts about his career. It is an official campaign biography, but exceptionally good of its kind. The other is called "Alfred E. Smith, A Critical Study." It is written by Henry F. Pringle, published by Macy-Masius, and justifies its title.

In 1873, when Al Smith was born, Tammany Hall had more or less continuously governed New York for many years. After the Civil War the educated and well-to-do gradually acquired the habit of bitterly attacking it; at one time or another they exposed practices on its part which presumably should have disqualified its candidates for popular confidence. But revelations of scandalous official malpractice could not impair the vitality of its social institutions and tribal loyalties. Tammany took care of its own voters and their families as scrupulously as the most benevolent social democracy could have done, and more artfully. They were the kind of people which needed to be cared for. Consisting as they did of the poorer workers, usually of foreign birth or parentage, who as immigrants had felt lonely, forlorn and insecure in a foreign country, they asked for steady work, amusements, kindness, understanding, and a helping hand in the perplexities and calamities of life. In the beginning they were chiefly Irish Catholics, but later, as the tide of Slavic and Jewish immigration rose, Tammany extended its grateful shelter to the newcomers of other nationalities. The leader of every district dispensed to his particular people favors, licences, charity, counsel and human sympathy. His followers repaid him with the kind of devotion which the half-helpless members of a savage tribe cherish for a victorious chief. His was the power to make or unmake their lives. He soothed their psychological sore of alien inferiority and helped them to secrete a sense of collective importance.

Al Smith started in life as a typical member of this society. His relatives were hard-working, respectable Irish people, poor without being impoverished. His father died during his boyhood, and he was obliged to go to work early in order to save himself from being a burden on his mother. His education was confined to a few years at a parochial school. He worked for a while as a clerk in a fish store and at other minor jobs, but whenever he showed any ability he was destined to exercise it in public service. In spite of the humble circumstances of his family, he was born, be it remembered, into the ruling class of New York. Soon after he reached the age of twenty-one, the leader of his district, Tom Foley, had him appointed to a petty job connected with the courts, and ever since, with the exception of two years between terms as governor, he has filled one or another public office. His mother's brother was a fireman, and the city employed most of his relatives and associates. The Catholic church of his parish or the Tammany district organization prompted his various and lively social activities. He displayed an early gift and

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relish for amateur acting. In fact, during his adolescence he seems to have been more interested in acting than in anything else. In a different environment he might have drifted into earning his living on the stage, but his personal loyalty tied him to the political motive of his particular community. His intelligence, his fidelity, his diligence and his engaging personality made him invaluable to Foley, who early slated him for promotion. It is peculiarly significant that this promotion, when it came during his thirtieth year, assumed the form of nomination as state assemblyman.

When Al Smith went to Albany as the member of the Assembly from his district, both his formal and his social education were of the most rudimentary character. He lacked entirely the training, the associations and the experience which presumably would have prepared him to legislate well. He was devoid of independent political personality. He had no idea of public policy, no vision of public needs, and little or no consciousness of public responsibility. He belonged body and soul to Tammany, and he went to Albany in order to obey the orders of his tribal leaders. On the other hand, there was no office within the gift of his organization which provided a man of character and intelligence with a better opportunity of educating himself. As state legislator, he was freer to use his own judgment and to carry on his official work without interference than he would have been if Tammany had employed him in New York City. He was bound, of course, to obey orders whenever his superiors chose to give them, but he could act on his own judgment with respect to many legislative questions. He possessed a consecutive and honest mind. Covetousness did not distract him. By paying attention conscientiously to the day's work he gradually learned a great deal about the needs and business of the state. At the end of a few terms he had earned recognition as a capable legislator and as a trustworthy man.

Unless he had been unusually disinterested and had found in the work of assemblyman a source of personal growth, he would hardly have returned year after year to Albany. Tammany possessed other and better jobs to distribute among the faithful than that of state assemblyman. Thanks, however, to some combination of good luck and good management, his superiors continued to employ him in an office which was far more educational than lucrative, and which developed his personal initiative and his ability to legislate and govern. By 1910 he had acquired a unique knowledge of the politics and business of the state. New York at that time was being forced to improve its provision for the welfare of the poorer and more helpless members of the community, and for this and other reasons the state needed a corresponding improvement in the technique of administration. As a result of his services on special commissions which dealt with these affairs, Al Smith had become in 1915 expert both in administration and in social policy. A little over a decade of work as Tammany legislator had thoroughly educated him to serve, to represent and to interpret his particular constituency. Ex-Senator Wadsworth had started his public career at about the same time, with every advantage of education and position, but the interests and prejudices of the people among whom he lived and the use to which he had put his opportunities warped his outlook and cheapened his personality. Al Smith also was born into an office-holding class, but with a different result. Although theretofore a Tammany pedigree and licence had been successful only in educating ward politicians and good district leaders, his use of similar opportunities had steadily added to his efficiency as a public servant and the scope and dignity of his personality. When he was nominated for governor in the fall of 1918, he had become, by a process of self-education, as well qualified for that office as any man in the state of New York.

There is no need for reviewing here his career as governor or celebrating his success in reorganizing the administrative departments at Albany and winning general popular confidence. He was first elected in 1918 by an extremely narrow majority over his Republican opponent, but since then he has always run hundreds of thousands of votes ahead of his party. It is during the last ten years that his career has become paradoxical. Tammany, which has existed primarily to divide among its own members the spoils and patronage of New York municipal government, has given birth in Al Smith to a political leader who has reorganized the administration of the state in the interest of expert efficiency. Rigid Democrat partisan though he is, he has, without any sacrifice of party allegiance, won the support of a larger proportion of the Republican and independent voters in his constituency than any independent or non-partisan office-holder in the history of the United States. In short, he has initiated and carried through important reforms without being consciously or by reputation a reformer. If we can explain these paradoxes, we may be drawing near to the secret of his political magic, the reason for his probable triumph as a candidate for the Democrat nomination, and also the reason for the recent ineptitude of his attempt to shift his political base from state to national politics.

II

How has Al Smith managed to initiate and carry through important reforms without being consciously a reformer? The reformer usually approaches his area of work by the route of intellectual detection and moral combat. He has convinced himself of the existence of certain grave public evils and abuses. This conviction, divorced as it generally is from contact with political realities, fills him with a desire to expose and chastise the unregenerate who participate in the obnoxious

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practices, and it usually develops into a feeling of superiority. In order to attack the offenders, he has to worry ordinary people into accepting his criticisms and his corrective program. From 1904 to 1920, most of the influential political leaders of this country were reforming agitators, and those who were not progressive did not for that reason cease to be reformers. Mr. Coolidge is intellectually a reformer, in the interest not of readjustment, but of inertia. He labors to indoctrinate the American people with what he believes to be safe and sound scruples. His political habit of mind is intellectualist, and his political realities are embodied in phrases. But Al Smith, like the ordinary voter, is not interested in ideas. He has learned nothing from books, and he does not himself depend for his influence on admonition or exhortation. He is an actor in politics who wins confidence by his personality in action rather than by flourishing ideas or phrases. He has occupied himself with bringing about certain concrete improvements in state administration which his experience has convinced him to be desirable, but he has not fought for these improvements by declaring war on party politics or the spoils system, by invoking pretentious and sweeping generalizations or by any assumption of a holier-and-wiser-than-thou attitude. His activity as a reformer has not divided him from the ordinary New York voters or from the instinctive sources of his own activity. At his suggestion they have tolerated and even supported reforms which they would have rejected from any other source. In their imaginations he has loomed large as a man rather than as a reformer.

Simple and even primitive motives have prompted his most important political attitudes and acts. Although not vindictive, he is very much moved by violent personal antagonisms. In the ordinary rough-and-tumble of political combat, he can give and take hard blows good-humoredly, but he has the sensitiveness of a self-made man who has been deprived of social advantages and who takes his reputation seriously. If his opponents charge him with some personally discreditable fault, he fastens upon the grievance, hugs it to his bosom and exploits it to the limit. During his first term as governor, Hearst attacked him ostensibly for allowing inferior milk to be sold to the poorer people of New York. The Hearst newspapers have systematically criticized officials without regard for the truth and without meaning as much as they say, but they could not with impunity do it to Al Smith. The mixed frivolity and malice of the attack and its offensive implications rubbed him on the raw. When, after refutation, the charges were not withdrawn or mitigated, he simply ruled Mr. Hearst out of good political society. Thereafter his feeling toward his persecutor combined contempt with hatred. The insistence upon it in after years disconcerted his friends and associates, but it was essential to the man, and it proved in fact to be a personal and political asset. His dogged refusal in 1922 to run on the same ticket with Mr. Hearst, in spite of orders to that effect, is an outstanding act of his political career. His success in finally forcing both Hearst and Murphy to back down established his personal independence of Tammany and enormously increased his prestige and self-confidence. He had encountered and overcome the villain in the drama of his political life, and to his credit with his audience and himself he had won a famous victory. Some good angel had helped him to select a worthy object for his abhorrence. Hearst is not only a man whom it might be dangerous to like or to serve, but whom it might be morally, if not spiritually, invigorating to detest and to cast out.

The incident suggests, I think, the clue to Al Smith's political magic. He is a superb actor in conventional plays which belong to a provincial political stage. Like all natural actors, he can seize dramatic opportunities and improvise the words, the attitudes and the by-play which the situation calls for, and he can provoke and maintain in his audience an attitude of breathless attention and expectation. He creates a kind of interest in his performance which overflows automatically into confidence in him as a man. Playing, as he does, one part in a series of episodes, his performance amounts to a dramatization of his personality for his people. He imposes himself on the popular imagination very much as a successful clergyman might impose himself on his congregation, but with much more effect. His vehicle is not the monologue, but the deed, the public combat, hard hitting for worthy purposes, and dextrous triumph over opponents.

In calling him a political actor I am far from implying that he is not also a diligent political business man, or that in his performance he is making believe to himself and his public. Successful political leaders are all actors—more or less. They must play a part. They may play it well or ill, cynically or sincerely, in a routine manner or with entertaining variations. Al Smith is distinguished from other political actors by the sincerity, the invention, the ease and the vivacity which he puts into his rendering of his public role. The unusual success happens in his case to be an extraordinary personal *tour de force*. Although born, in a sense, on the political stage, he was entered on the books for only inferior parts. Entirely by his own efforts he has become a great star whom the multitudes acclaim. He could not have succeeded at all without a natural gift for putting up an appearance, but he could not have achieved such a great success unless he had backed up the pretensions of his career with the emotional energy of the whole man. His success is the best possible testimony of a rare personal integrity, which derived from an alliance between a lively intelligence, abundant good will and a large generosity of impulse.

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They call him the Lincoln of Little Old New York. A little of this comparison will go a long way, but it is valid in one important respect. Both men achieved by self-education an exclusive and high level of personal activity, and at the same time carried on a fruitful correspondence with common-or-garden people. They both refused to give themselves credit for personal distinction. Al Smith acts on assumptions and motives similar to those of his followers. He combines a gift for popularity with an incapacity for demagogy. He is not troubled by criticism and scruples. His mental and moral background is and has remained thoroughly conventional. He is a loyal Catholic, a steadfast Tammany politician, and, in spite of the Hamiltonian analogies of his own work, a traditional Democrat. He could not have permitted himself misgivings and scruples without hurting his correspondence with his audience and without also dividing his intelligence from his good will. That is why there is nothing pretentious, high-brow, high-hat or upper-class about him. He is just Al Smith of New York—a good fellow, a two-handed fighter, a hard worker, a shrewd politician, an expert executive and most of all the well loved hero of the melodrama of New York politics.

III

His lack of intellectualism and ideas helps to explain his success, but it is also associated with his serious limitations. He knows the East Side and Broadway, but does not know Greenwich Village or Columbia Heights, or Washington or Kansas, or China or Europe. In New York he has played with brilliant success the star part in a play whose successive acts were dictated by the circumstances and experiences of his own life. This performance is rapidly coming to an end, and he must either retire or assume a more exacting role in a new drama on a larger political stage. The very sincerity and prosperity of his past performance, limited as it has been, may prove to be his undoing in the new role. It is a question whether Al Smith of the East Side, New York, can become Alfred Smith of Washington and points south and west. Outside of New York he is no longer to the manner born. His special political community has never given birth to a national political leader. Unless much modified, it probably never will. Smith's people are less typical and generally American than Lincoln's, and he has to pay a higher price for complete correspondence with them. On the new stage he has lost his self-assurance, his free and easy carriage and the certainty of his touch. Thus far he has tried to be President of the United States, not by showing himself off and letting people into his confidence, but by sitting tight around a table and hugging his hand.

The stage of national politics does not furnish familiar situations and characters which prompt him to happy and appropriate improvisations. His self-education has not prepared him for the ambitious work of writing a scenario for a national political career. A secure base in New York City, a thorough knowledge of the state government and the opportunity which his experience equipped him to seize of performing an obvious public service, all conspired to make him a successful governor. The Republicans could contest only the details of his program, not its principle and general tendency. But as a candidate for President, his former advantages are transformed, at least in part, into handicaps. His opponents are more formidable and occupy a better strategic position. The framing of an effective program is a task whose intrinsic difficulty is only equalled by its unavoidable risk. His own knowledge and experience are not in this connection instructive. His advisers, like all advisers, disagree. He lacks intellectual curiosity and imagination. He needs ideas. He has never cultivated them. He needs to have read and to have assimilated the results of his reading. He can get nothing from books. If he does not know how or care to read, he needs to talk with people from other parts of the country or with New Yorkers whose experience, interests and outlook are different from his own. He does not do it. He is still surrounded by the same little clique of friends, who, intelligent and disinterested though they be, are incapable of supplementing his own deficiencies. That is why, in this critical moment of his career, instead of dramatizing his personality for a national audience, he falls back on his Tammany inheritance and plays poker.

The difficulty is, I suspect, that Al Smith, as a nursling both of Tammany and the Catholic Church, is accustomed to depend too much on authority. He can move around with perfect assurance and address within ascertained and permitted limits, but outside those limits he does not know what to do with his fine intelligence. The limits in his case are established by the accidents of his surroundings. His intelligence has served him well as the handmaid of this accidental personality, but now that he needs its help in order to increase the scope and range of his habitual activities, he finds himself intellectually muscle-bound. He is accustomed to taking for granted much more than he can afford to take for granted as a presidential candidate. His inheritance, which accounts for so much of his success, is now deserting him. In order to rise above the handicap he would have to be indeed a great man. Perhaps if by some freak of fortune he could be nominated and elected President, he could eventually infuse into his new work some of the superb assurance of his career in New York. But the assurance would have to come at the end of a period of probation by some process of trial and error, and not, as is now necessary, by a process of intellectual elasticity and imaginative projection.

The work of projection which confronts him is

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more difficult than that of Bryan in 1896 or Roosevelt in 1904. The Democratic party on which he ought to be able to count supplies only obstacles, deficiencies and traps. Its leaders will nominate him, if at all, as a magnet for votes. Yet, at the same time, they will, as a result of their own predicament and nature, do their best to neutralize the power of the magnet. They will force him to talk in hesitating and equivocal phrases on prohibition, for they do not wish it to count as an issue. They will, as far as they can, paralyze any attempt on his part to distinguish an economic issue and focus on it. The Democratic voters consist of widely divergent economic and cultural and sectional groups, whose members hang together chiefly for the purpose of carrying state elections. The several state machines and sectional or class groups are connected with one another by hyphens. They assemble once every four years in solemn convention to nominate a candidate for the presidency, and the enormous effort which it takes to agree on a candidate usually exhausts their powers of joint action. There is only one rule of conduct which the traditions of the party have imposed on its members, which is, never to allow themselves the indiscretion of an idea without crediting it to Thomas Jefferson. Al Smith cannot do anything without this mechanics of a party, and he cannot do anything with it. Once installed in the White House, he might force life into it by some exploit in reconstructive surgery, but as a presidential candidate, his hands are tied. He can only make use of its machinery, endure the involuntary malice of its component parts, arrange to carry its dead weight and pull the string which will move the dummy to sit up and shout, "I'm for Jefferson and Al Smith" just as if it were alive.

Governor Smith is supposed, however, if nominated, to be the candidate not only of the Democratic party, but of a hitherto unrepresented and non-vocal, but numerous and aggressive section of the American people, viz., the voters of foreign birth and parentage. "He proclaims," says André Siegfried in his "America Comes of Age," "a new Americanism in which the old Nordic Protestant tradition counts for nothing. In spite of his crudeness this Irish American stands for the best in the non-Anglo-Saxon community, and the foreign population feels for the first time that he gives them access to powers and honors." It is true, of course, that Al Smith is the first representative of the population of recent foreign origin who has seriously offered himself as a candidate for the presidency. It is also true that he stands for all that is best in the non-Anglo-Saxon community. But these claims for consideration seem less important than they did five years, four, two or even one year ago. Then it looked as if, what with prohibition, the War and post-war persecutions and discriminations, the Klan and other evidence of Nordic propaganda, the population of foreign birth and parentage might obtain a common diffusional consciousness which would have important political consequences. The American nation was apparently brewing a race and culture conflict, one of the parties to which Governor Smith would represent.

Recently, however, the tide of the Klan has steadily receded, and the Nordics and their philosophy are beginning to look more like a joke than a menace. The pressure on the people of foreign birth and parentage is relaxing. As it relaxes, it becomes increasingly clear that in representing them Al Smith is not representing a group of people who as yet possess a significant common consciousness or any fertile political interests and ideas. They can unite, as in the case of Tammany Hall, into a local political community of great vitality and adaptability. Consisting as they do of poor and sometimes ill-treated and unfortunate people, they can in local elections act as an almost irresistible class unit. On the other hand, they cannot coalesce with other local groups, and they are devoid of political principles which seriously take account of anything beyond their own needs and interests. They regard politics partly as a sport, partly as a means of easing their own introduction into a foreign society, and partly as a means of compensating them for their feeling of inferiority with respect to the people who have already "arrived." They are more likely to vote for leaders like Mayor Thompson of Chicago or ex-Mayor Hylan of New York than for a leader like Al Smith. They are mercurial, suspicious, credulous, avid of the good things of American life and only superficially rooted in American soil. They are wholly incapable of providing a substantial backing for the "new Americanism" which, according to M. Siegfried, Al Smith is about to proclaim. He can, of course, if he is nominated, conquer their votes, and this fact will enable him to carry some of the industrial states of the East and Middle West which no other Democratic candidate can carry. But they are incapable of furnishing the impulse for a popular uprising which by electing Al Smith will supply a living symbol and a loud speaker to a suppressed social class.

In so far as this sketch of Al Smith's personality and qualifications is true, we can understand why hitherto he has disappointed so many of us as a presidential candidate. He is not sure what to do. If he takes an aggressive line and tries to connect the Democratic party or his own foreign following to a questionable program, he probably could not be nominated. If he sits tight and plays poker, he probably can be nominated, but he cannot be elected. The dilemma is not of his making, and if the nomination is within reach, he can hardly be blamed for clutching at the accessible prize and postponing until later the bother of being elected. In that event he will be nominated by playing poker, and the most disastrous mistake he can make is to assume that he can elect himself by the same means. His chances are poor at best, and they will

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not be increased by angling for little schools of voters. If he is to win, he is obliged to bet that the American people are ready for a revolt against Republicanism. Let him consequently reveal himself to them, as he has revealed himself to the voters of New York, in the part of a valiant soldier and an adroit general in the warfare against Republicanism. Let him insist upon creating a real issue between the Republican nominee and himself. As long as he is likely to lose, he will find it more satisfactory to lose after a brave and significant fight than after a feeble and petty fight. It would be a great pity for a man who has behaved so handsomely as governor of New York to behave shabbily as a candidate for the presidency.

HERBERT CROLY.

Two Irishmen

POLICEMEN were so plentiful around the Biltmore that they got in each other's way. They sentinelled the corridors of the seventeenth floor. The burly man at the door of the presidential suite was unimpressionable as only burly men guarding important doors can be. Plainly it was going to be a problem to get audience with William T. Cosgrave, visiting President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State. But the problem was solved in a charmingly Irish way. Along came Padraic Colum, poet; for him the portals swung wide, and in his wake I entered, to be introduced to Desmond Fitzgerald, poet and Minister of Defense in the Free State government; and by this poet-Minister I was brought to the President.

Surely no other nation—in the western world at least—has a poet at the head of its army. And to audience with the chief of no other state, surely, is the way made straightest by two poets!

I had opportunity not only to talk with President Cosgrave, but also to observe him at some length. Contemporary opinion has not yet done justice to this former grocer, whose part in Easter Week was obscure though honorably militant, and whose work as Minister of Local Government in the fugitive revolutionary cabinet was overshadowed by the more spectacular activities of Griffith, Collins and De Valera, but history will rank him high. He may lack the colorful qualities usually demanded of a man of destiny, but destiny knows her own mind. She raised up Hyde and Yeats and William Rooney to awaken the Irish people, each in his way; Griffith to give them direction and tactics; Pearse and Connolly, McBride and Sean MacDermot to lead them to battle; De Valera to inflame their imaginations; Collins and Mulcahy to give them victory. Their work done, destiny abandoned them, to age, to death, to factionalism and the tragedy of their own pride; but Cosgrave she had in reserve for the labors that demand clear vision, and steadiness, and patience, and endurance—the labors involved in welding the classes and elements of a new state into a national consciousness, and compelling a torn, suspicious, excited people to face their practical problems and go ahead to the mastering of them.

As I watched him I found myself repeating, "A Rock—a Rock." He is a small man with graying corn-yellow hair brushed back from a pale face that is capable of perfect repose or a perfect smile, with the gray-blue eyes participating in a kindly, wise, observing way. But there is about him a subtle, pervasive, very positive sense of power; an inflexible, enduring power. Hearing his ingratiating Dublin accent, I thought of James Stephens' lines:

> A Dublin man will frown when he
> Hears a tale of villainy;
> But when a kindness you relate
> He swings and whistles on the gate.

Probably Cosgrave would like to be free of his cares, free to swing and whistle on his gate; but so long as he is called on to serve he will work calmly and remorselessly, he will do what must be done, he will take what buffetings come, he will not budge from a necessary course, and he will not frighten. I was telling one of De Valera's "wild men" my impression of Cosgrave. "Ah, yes," he said—but the "Ah" was a growl—"So they said of O'Higgins, but two little bullets—and he was only a writhing lump of flesh." Heaven forbid that murder should again mark Irish politics; for any other challenge that fate may throw William T. Cosgrave, he can meet. He is the ultimate rock on which factionalism and folly may beat to their heart's content, and he will not break nor budge nor lose clarity of vision.

Cosgrave's training was the best possible for his present work. He entered the Dublin Council in 1909, one of the first Sinn Feiners; they subsequently captured the Dublin Corporation, and Cosgrave became Chairman of the Finance Committee. He labored for the abolition of the Dublin slums. Condemned to death and later to penal servitude for his part in the rising, he was in jail when Kilkenny City made him the first Sinn Fein member of Parliament from an urban constituency. Experience has given him the manner of a completely poised man of affairs; his movements are calm, his decisions immediate. Experience spoke when he answered my question as to Ireland's immediate need. "Less politics, more work," he said.

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"We have four great problems," he continued. "To minimize politics; to raise our major industry, agriculture, to efficiency and prosperity; to build up as varied an industrial structure as Ireland will sustain; and to provide universal, modern education. We have ended patronage in public office, and all but the smallest local posts are now filled under civil-service rules. We have ended landlordism; the Irish farmer is master of his soil and its products. We have bought out all private creameries and merged them with the coöperatives; we foster coöperative buying and selling, and we supervise the marketing of butter and eggs by setting up standards which must be met. One result is an increase of 20 percent in our butter exports. We will apply measures likewise to raise the quality of other farm products.

"Our chief manufactures have been biscuits and brewing and distilling products. Under the Free State there has been a marked revival in the 'dead meat,' or, as you say, the 'packing' industry, in the making of furniture, boots and shoes, shirts, and many other products. We are evolving a policy of protection by means of a Tariff Commission composed of senior civil servants, free from politics. All applications for protection are considered by them in the light of every possible effect. The farmers have given us splendid support, and we shall not institute tariffs which will raise their cost of living. We shall not subsidize inefficiency. And we remember that Britain is our best customer, and a tariff war would be foolish and fatal.

"The Shannon development will be finished to its initial stage in a year or so. At an expenditure of $25,000,000 we will develop 90,000 horsepower, supplying 153,000,000 units of electricity to factories, farms and homes. Another ten million dollars will give us twice this capacity, and there are other streams besides the Shannon suitable for power development. The Shannon project"—it is clearly the apple of his eye—"will not only provide industrial power; it will bring comfort to the little homes that are now dark and cheerless on winter nights, and it will help stop the drift from the farms to the city slums. It will be, moreover, a solvent of political intransigeance.

"We have nationalized education. Under whatever economic pressure, the government intends to find money to educate every child and to foster such cultural activities as the Abbey Theater and the publication of Gaelic texts. As to objections to compulsory study of Gaelic, we do not think it necessary to defend the fostering of our national language. Experience shows it is good for the children; and modern business and affairs can be carried on in it without difficulty.

"We regret that Northern Ireland has not joined us, but we hope in time they will find it to their interest to do so. We live in perfect harmony with the North, and we do not forget that it was there the modern movement toward Irish independence started. In the Free State we have no religious problem, and five of the nine judges of our High and Supreme courts are non-Catholics. Our national debt is only about thirty-eight dollars per capita, against $840 in Britain and $174 in the United States. We have substantial political freedom, and on the basis of what we have done in five years, we are confident of the future."

If any last detail were needed to assure that Ireland's future is in good hands with Cosgrave at the helm, it was supplied by a flash of Irish wit. A secretary came to the President, saying, "Fitzgerald wishes to know do you wish to go over his speech with him?" The President replied, "Tell Fitzgerald anything he says will be all right if he'll only omit the Dawn of History." Ireland is at last in the care of a realist.

From president to poet, from statesman to mystic, might seem a long step, but AE reminded me of the part that poets have always played in Irish affairs, and indeed he is a conspicuous example. If he is, as I believe, the profoundest and truest mystic of our times, he is one whose power is rooted like an oak-tree in the brown earth. For nearly three decades he was continuously busy organizing coöperative agricultural societies, creameries and banks, and editing the Irish Homestead, and today he edits the widely-read Irish Statesman, and is accounted Ireland's foremost economist. He has played a thoughtful, wise, conciliatory role in Irish politics; and all the while he has written his poems and painted his pictures and deepened his wisdom. AE is Ireland's Leonardo da Vinci, the many-sided man. He said to me, "A man is not justified if he is merely a poet, or an economist, a politician, or a tradesman, or a soldier: he must be a citizen; citizens, in the Platonic sense, are what the State needs."

As a citizen of Ireland he talked to me of many things. He, too, is an enthusiast about the Shannon electrification. "It will transform rural life, and it will make the Irish farmers a literate people, for now at night they will have light to read by." I told him that some people lamented that the picturesque little thatched and whitewashed mud cabins of the Irish countryside would give place to modern, sanitary, unpicturesque houses. "They are cruel and insatiable sentimentalists," he cried. "Would they themselves like to live in mud cabins? Some beauty may be lost awhile, but I remember that in Donegal, where I spend my vacations, there was lamentation thirty years ago when the 'picturesque' cabins were replaced by stone houses. Now ivy grows on the stone houses, and doubtless a few years hence when they give place to something more modern, there will be more lamentations.

"Ireland of course must go ahead in the modern world. A nation cannot exist in dreams only. Prior to 1916, Ireland did live in a dream, and now she is learning that the reality differs from

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the dream. That is the cause of our present difficulties, but we are learning how to overcome them. We are learning to organize. Statesmen can do little for a people until they organize to do something for themselves. The beginning of that process was made by Sir Horace Plunkett's Irish Agricultural Organization Society. Now the small farmers work together coöperatively, the manufacturers are getting together in bigger units, the shopkeepers are getting together. Until a couple of years ago there were five railroads, now there is one system. Under the old regime, there were forty government boards; now there are seven.

"The problem of Northern Ireland may be solved in the same spirit. I am myself an Ulsterman, and I understand the faults on both sides. My Nationalist friends have not sufficiently understood Northern economic viewpoints. Southern Ireland wants an economic system for four million people, but the North prefers to stay in the one ring with Britain's forty million. It will be hard to break that ring, but it will be done gradually by Northern and Southern Ireland sharing more and more services in common; and the first step toward union is good temper. A nation is finally what it loves. The South heretofore has wanted the North from pride; it must learn to want it for love.

"Northern Ireland will be hard to reconcile to compulsory Gaelic, but they can be taught to love the old tongue, every word of which is a talisman holding secrets of Irish history and tradition and legend. The North will learn that economics are not all—there are no economics in religion and art. I love those passages in the beautiful old Irish heroic tales, where the warriors pause in their combat to embrace and to praise each other. If we can bring that spirit into Irish politics our national life will be ennobled."

I asked AE about literature in Ireland, and the poet and mystic gently displaced the economist. If his voice was soft and charming before, now it was surely the softest and loveliest, as his speech was the most rhythmic and living, that ever issued from masculine lips. "In Ireland," he said, "poets are as plentiful as silver at the court of Solomon the King." How much of AE there is in the very cadence of that sentence; he would never have said "gold," nor "King Solomon's court." His commonest speech is living poetry, and when he speaks lines of actual verse you think you have never heard poetry before; it is veritably "linkéd sweetness long drawn out." You understand that quietly passionate love of beauty which with him is one with the love of wisdom.

For AE is Ireland's Wise Man. What are we mortals but strayed children of the "Mighty Mother," straying gods,

> From the mightier Adam falling
> To his image dwarfed in clay . . . ?

Time is only a troubled passage between two eternities. Our mortal selves are but poor images of our immortal selves. If any man would understand himself and his destiny, he must learn that

> Some bright one of old time laid his scepter down,
> So his heart might learn of sweet and bitter truth;
> Going forth bereft of beauty, throne and crown,
> And the sweetness of his youth.
>
> So the old appeal and fierce revolt we make
> Through the world's hour dies within our primal will;
> And we justify the pain and hearts that break,
> And our lofty doom fulfill.

It might puzzle us how one of this mystic faith, one who has seen flaming immortals and has painted radiant pictures of them, can bother to be interested in economics and a drab world; until we remember with what brooding tenderness he has also painted the brown earth, and the stark beauty of the hills, and the earth-born forms of men and women; and remember, too, how constantly his poems bear witness to his joy in the sheer visible beauty of nature, as in these lovely lines:

> When the breath of twilight blows to flame the misty skies,
> All its vaporous sapphire, violet glow and silver gleam,
> With their magic flood me through the gateway of the eyes:
> I am one with the twilight's dream.

Twilight came to a New York apartment, and I took leave of the tall, ruddy, bearded man who has so surprisingly come to us in the flesh, having been so long a legend.

SHAEMAS O'SHEEL.

Panope

How lovely are the tombs of the dead nymphs
On the heroic shore—the glittering plinths
Of jacynth . . . hyacinthine waves profound
Sigh of the beauty out of sight and sound

And many a golden foot that pressed the sand—
Panope walking like the pomp of waves
With plumaged helmet near the fountain caves
The panoply of suns on distant strand—

Is only now an arena for the worm,
Her golden flesh lies in the dust's frail storm

And beauty water-bright for long is laid
Deep in the empire of eternal shade—

Only the sighing waves know now the plinth
Of those deep tombs that were of hyacinth.

But still the echoes of that helmeted bright hair
Are like the pomp of tropic suns, the blare

That from the inaccessible horizon runs—
The eternal music of heroic suns
When their strong youth comes freshened from deep seas—
And the first music heard among the trees.

EDITH SITWELL.

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Hans Stengel

HANS STENGEL, who committed suicide in New York the night of January 28, was a man of remarkable gifts who had never found his proper field. His parents were German and at the time that I first met him, he had just come from Germany, where he had been associated, in Munich, with the group who got out the humorous weekly, Simplicissimus. He had begun by studying painting, but had developed a knack for caricature, which he hoped to turn to account; and, soon after he arrived in New York, he brought his caricatures to the office of an American satirical magazine with which I was then connected. They were effective and vigorous drawings of the modern German school, harsh, mordant, sometimes monstrous and sometimes gruesome. But they were, I knew, just the sort of thing for which there was little demand in New York. The prevailing taste was for the agreeable triviality and the thin distinction of line of French or English drawing; and Hans Stengel was not merely too harsh, but also, in a sense, too serious. There was at that time, I believe, in New York, not a single magazine which would have looked at Stengel's work a second time. The Liberator, I think, had already gone out of business; and it would never, when it was alive, have enabled anyone to earn a living. I remember feeling rather ashamed that there was so little that was encouraging to tell him, that a man of evident ability, who had studied in a distinguished school, should be confronted with such a meager prospect of marketing his work in New York.

And thereafter, when one encountered his drawings in the American papers and magazines to which, by dint of persistent energy and in spite of his handicaps, he had succeeded in selling them, one always felt that he had been cramped by the effort to keep within the bounds of what seemed to him the excessively timid and complacent American taste. At one time, he occupied the position of principal caricaturist for the Sunday Herald Tribune, and his best work in America was probably done at this time; but, as a German, he had against him both prejudice and fashion; and during the last year before his death he had been reduced to turning out a silly series for a cheap evening paper, a daily "feature" from which he had been obliged to eliminate all his original personality and which he refused to sign.

It is always difficult, in a given case, to know how far an artist has been discouraged by a special lack of demand for his work: it is possible that a caricaturist of the very first rank might have been able to force New York to accept him. It is impossible to know how good Hans Stengel's drawings might have been, if he had been able to put into them what he pleased; but, as it was, one always felt about him that his caricatures were very far from representing him at his best, that he might be, that he probably would be, more successful in some other field. He was remarkably intelligent, he knew a good deal of the world, and he talked extremely well. There was more imagination and wit in his ordinary conversation than in anything he drew or wrote. He was the son of a German actor, the director of the municipal theater at Lübeck, and he had a genius, which told in conversation and which seemed essentially of the theater, for producing deliberate cumulative effects, for throwing into relief his personality. He was admirably equipped to dominate an audience: he was more than six feet tall; he had served during the War in the German army and he had the straight figure, as well as the shaved head (he had early discarded the monocle) and something of the imperious manner, of the Prussian officer. He was therefore to be seen to best advantage when he was holding the attention of a group of people, at dinner or at one of his Saturday night receptions; and he had become of recent years one of the most popular hosts of Greenwich Village. Mencken, Dreiser and Robert Chanler were among his friends in New York; and at a period when the Village had lost most of its old romance with the most remarkable of its old leaders, he stood out as one of the only personalities capable of attracting about him at his house a regular company of friends and admirers. He had, on these occasions, a vein of ironic commentary, fantastic and acute, which, as I say, surpassed anything in his journalism. He was also, for all his Prussian ideals, both generous and sensitive; and he loved living in the grand style. He was able to succeed, to an extraordinary degree, in interesting people in his personal fate and, in spite of violent quarrelings and fallings-out, in commanding their loyalty.

For such a man to wait upon the editors of American magazines and to do the work of American newspapers was peculiarly difficult. He was proud and when his pride was in question, he would immediately resign his job; and though his incapacity for adjusting himself to the requirements of American journalism unquestionably depressed him more and more, one was always struck, when one saw him on these occasions, by the unmistakable relief of the man of independent spirit who dislikes working for other men less intelligent and bold than himself. His career in New York had been, in spite of everything, from the ordinary point of view, quite successful and even enviable, but there is no doubt that, from his own point of view, it seemed deeply unsatisfactory. He had always regarded caricature itself as rather beneath his dignity; and when, last winter, the proprietor of a night club offered him a large salary to preside over it—a position for which his gift of holding the attention of an audience would admirably have fitted him—he refused to consider the suggestion except as a joke. During the last few months of his life, he had set himself to write a novel—a novel in which a simple and sentimental German boy was to be contrasted with a cynical and arrogant Junker. Perhaps the most striking feature of his character was his capacity for passionate feeling: he astounded even the inhabitants of Greenwich Village—by no means free, for all their reputation, from the pervasive tepidity and indifference of American life—by his exhilarations and despairs. Just as, though Stengel spoke excellent English, and the English of a man with a literary ear, he spoke it always with German consonants and with many German locutions, so in New York he remained always a foreigner, who interested people partly because he represented something exotic, and who was never really assimilated. We have a natural tendency to assume that a failure to survive in the community where we ourselves have no difficulty in prospering must be the result of inherent

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deficiencies on the part of the person who has failed; but it is sometimes more appropriate to judge a civilization from the point of view of what it destroys. Hans Stengel, during the last year, had talked often of returning to Berlin; but New York had, after all, become his home at the same time that his existence there had come to seem to him hopeless. He was always passionate and violent; and his last act, which took great force of will and unusual courage, was passionate, violent and deliberately dramatic. His body has been cremated by his friends and his ashes are to be scattered to the waters of that city to which he came as a young man and only so few years ago, with his portfolio of drawings. E. W.

As the Weeks Pass

The Patriot, adapted from the German of Alfred Neumann, by Ashley Dukes. Majestic Theater, January 19, 1928.

Salvation, by Sidney Howard and Charles MacArthur. Empire Theater, January 31, 1928.

The Bridal Veil, by Arthur Schnitzler. Music by Ernst Von Dohnanyi. The American Laboratory Theater. January 26, 1928.

THE week's run of "The Patriot" is already so long past that reviewing it might seem idle and pointless. But much has been heard of this play, its profound success in Europe, its adaptation by Mr. Ashley Dukes, the author of "The Man with the Load of Mischief," its decor by Mr. Norman-Bel Geddes, one of the handful of great talents in the theater anywhere today, its production by Mr. Gilbert Miller, following his galaxy of recent successes, and its performance by actors like Miss Madge Titheradge, Mr. Lyn Harding and others imported from London for the glory of the occasion; and anyone interested in the theater is bound to wonder as to what were its fortunes in America.

"The Patriot" tells the story, with wide liberties on the dramatist's part, of the assassination of the insane Tsar Paul I of Russia. The central figure in the drama is Count Pahlen, the Military Governor of St. Petersburg. His personal loyalty and devotion to the Tsar struggles with his love for Russia. He enlists his former mistress, Anna, Baroness Ostermann, in the cause. She is to wind herself into the Tsar's affections and so to accomplish the walling up of certain approaches to his bedchamber. Meanwhile Count Pahlen organizes the plot, in which the army and the highest court officials are enlisted. In the end the plotters make their way to the imperial chamber and strangle the Tsar. Count Pahlen sees the throne pass to the heir, the Grand Duke Alexander, and he himself, together with his servant, who has done the strangling for him, expiates the treason to his friend. The two shoot themselves, we hear the shots as the final curtain descends.

"The Patriot" is an impressive play, refreshing for the strength and masculinity of its themes and interests, and laid out with a steady, noble pattern and a superior level of dramatic excitement. The death scene, the scene where Anna feels pity for the poor doomed Tsar, tortured, ill, solitary, frightened, the scene of the count and the servant before their death, are all in their way superb. Mr. Geddes' settings, and costumes, in the rich Directoire epoch, represent a genuine stretch in his progress; his designs for "The Patriot" are by far the most important that he has done for any play—the Dante Model and other such designs being, of course, another matter.

But "The Patriot," as we saw it at the Majestic, fell flat, the only living moments were when Mr. Lyn Harding was on the stage with his Tsar Paul. The reason for this failure lay chiefly in the directing. Nothing was stressed firmly, nothing projected over the footlights. The lay-out of the movement and ensemble was fair enough, the stress and projection nil; you felt as if you were present at some rehearsal that had not the audience in mind at all. And the acting, for the most part, had the same vagueness and lack of theatrical accentuation. The part of Anna, the only woman in the play, is a fine one; Miss Titheradge did something less than nothing with it. You could not but wonder what a Russian, with a sense of the glamor and warmth and variety of the role, would have thought of this pale, if correct, behavior and its damage to the play. Count Pahlen and numerous others of the company had agreeable manners and clothes-wearing accomplishments; the rest of their dramatic creation stayed on the far side of the footlights. Thus by sheer lack of projection a telling drama, superbly mounted, faded out of mind and sight.

"Salvation," the second piece that has brought Miss Pauline Lord to Broadway this season, is a work that dramatizes the theme of women revivalists, a subject that the celebrated progress of Mrs. Aimee Macpherson put on the national front page not so long ago. The body or framework of "Salvation" is close in kind to that of such medodramas as "Broadway"; its story involves the poignant and stubborn little figure of a young woman, who, covered with a huge success in salvations and conversions, and victimized by a manager, a lover and then husband, a mother, a publicity agent, finds out herself at last that none of them believes in her message at all. Only the press man at the very end cries hallelujah as she leaves them all and sets out on her own salvation. The substance of this play is rich in possibilities; even in the briefest telling, the scope of it appears; it taunts and moves us with what it has implicit in it. The actual achievement is hard with a curious effect of competence and lessened with a certain unwounded adequacy and brisk control.

Miss Pauline Lord, in a role sometimes written most ably, sometimes unrealized, played when I saw her with great feeling and skill; to me she seemed to know the full torment and mystery of the soul she had studied to create. The play was well cast and at least capably acted all through. For the last act—the back scene in the great Chicago revival hall, or whatever it is called—Mr. Robert Edmond Jones, working with the simplest requirements, flat walls, a short flight of steps, the elevation of certain lines, designed a scene, with its strange dramatic rightness and purity, such as only he can do. "Salvation" was more than worth seeing, but it is not hard to understand why it should fail.

Side by side with these two ambitious ventures, by producers, players and authors whose names have achieved

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diverse degrees of eminence, The American Laboratory Theater, in its delightful but modest quarters on Fifty-fourth Street, has embarked on a production that in its own way is no less ambitious. This is a pantomime by Schnitzler, with music by Ernst Von Dohnanyi, and decor by James Reynolds, the costumes executed under the brilliant hand of Miss Millia Davenport, who remains one of the not-half-enough-exploited talents in the New York theater.

"The Bridal Veil" is a *macabre* story of a sculptor's love and death. The beloved comes to him in her veil, ready for her wedding to a demon bridegroom. She brings poison that she and the sculptor may die together. They are about to drink, he strikes the cup from her hand, but drinks himself and dies. At the wedding the guests, the parents, the bridegroom, await the bride. She comes. The dead lover's ghost appears, beckoning her with the bridal veil. In the last act, she and the bridegroom together visit the dead man; the bridegroom puts one of the poisoned cups to her lips, the other into her dead lover's hand. Her mind is shattered. In the end she joins her beloved.

The main shortcoming for this production of Schnitzler's pantomime is the music, but that limitation is plainly due to the expense budget. In the performance of the players the limitation arises from a lack of sufficient grotesque and *macabre* power—which is taking the occasion on the most exacting artistic grounds, of course. In the first act the dramatic texture might be greatly thickened and made more solid by a more exact phrasing of the action to the music; at present there are times when this first act is too thin, not nearly rich enough, not sufficiently grounded in the musical foundation that has been provided for its movements, its transitions, its emotional phrasing. But that is not to say that in this respect "The Bridal Veil" is not twenty times better than was the production of "Pierrot the Prodigal," for instance, in which Miss Laurette Taylor was starred; just as it is much more exact, competent and complete with regard to the movement, style and technical pains than the pantomime of the chorus at the Metropolitan Opera House.

Mr. Reynolds' decor in both scenery and costumes is beautiful and fresh; the costumes, especially those for men, have remarkable flare and variety and spirit. The ensemble playing in the second act is admirable. Miss Anne Schmidt's performance as the bride is at least fair, though it needs more flow and innate music. Mr. Donald Hartman's bridegroom is genuinely ominous and dramatic. And for a young actor, Mr. Harold Hecht's pantomime of the sculptor, in respect to the phrasing, the walk, the knees, hands and throat, is highly successful. Talent appears constantly in what he does, and most of all in that strange, indefinable absorption and awe in the stage moment that he feels—the quality that in this instance most singles him out from all the others of the company.

STARK YOUNG.

CORRESPONDENCE

Literary Politics

SIR: Mr. Edmund Wilson, in writing of "Literary Politics" in the New Republic, February 1, draws a devastating parallel between France, where criticism is as much a medium of communication as good cooking, and America, where such critics as we have are drawn apart in little groups of disciples, each intimidated by its leader. Here, he tells us, writers don't communicate. What we have are adherents of individuals, of Mencken, of T. S. Eliot, of Van Wyck Brooks, and the closely unified "social revolutionary" writers. Sherwood Anderson and Eugene O'Neill, we are told, have to work in a vacuum. The situation, Mr. Wilson insists, produces isolation hostile to the maturing process of the American writer, and therefore disadvantageous to the public.

Mr. Wilson's melancholy thesis is subject to exceptions. Waldo Frank, in his brilliant "Our America," sought—and now again in the series of articles evolving in the New Republic is exploring—living realities in America. Paul Rosenfeld, in "Port of New York," gave to Sherwood Anderson, Van Wyck Brooks, and Carl Sandburg, just such affectionate and penetrating criticism as Mr. Wilson finds wanting. And Rosenfeld's "Men Seen" is devoted, for the most part, to living writers. Louis Kalonyme has written extensively on the drama, and especially on Eugene O'Neill. And the journalistic writing of such men as Cuthbert Wright and Henry Hazlitt is of high order, Mr. Hazlitt having accomplished just the thing whose absence Mr. Wilson laments: namely, placing Mencken critically.

Why is it that, in narrowing the discussion to "literary" politics, Mr. Wilson has omitted to name those writers who, like Rosenfeld and Waldo Frank, have been most aware of, and responsive to, sensuous realities? Is not Mr. Wilson's partition of critics, the "literary" from the others, outworn in America, where the most significant and living events occur in painting, sculpture, photography, etc.? Mr. Wilson does name many writers not "literary" critics, such as Lawson, Gold, Dos Passos, etc. Why, then, omit the lively, well informed, gracious and witty commentary on art—and books—of Henry McBride, who has been reminding us weekly for more than a decade that journalistic writing need be neither dull nor pretentious, that it can be free of party affiliations and still infused, after years of exercise, with the freshness of youthful enthusiasm?

To base the case against American criticism on such figures as Mencken, Eliot and Van Wyck Brooks, is to choose only illustrations apposite to a negative thesis. Mencken is hardly a critic in the sense in which that term would be used in France, being entirely unfamiliar with plastic expression, and insensitive in his approach to writing. T. S. Eliot is not in touch with what is happening here. And one wonders if it is not the narrowness of Brooks' devotion to "literary" criticism which has helped to deprive his writing of warmth and fluidity.

Has not Mr. Wilson been sacrificing some achieved realities to the thesis he set out to prove?

HERBERT J. SELIGMANN.

New York City.

The Price System and the Engineers

SIR: Your comment, "The Price System and the Engineers," portrays a situation unfair to the engineers of the country as a professional group. You state "The American Engineering Council is the august central body of the more important engineering societies." Again you say, "The informed public may infer from such behavior as the American Engineering Council has just exhibited that the engineers have sold out to the private power interests, in one of the most significant political controversies of our generation."

The matters in controversy, so far as engineering is directly

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concerned, refer to dam construction of unprecedented height, public water supply of exceptional proportions, land reclamation, flood prevention, and power development as an incident to the others. All of these phases of engineering fall strictly within the province of that great branch of engineering known as civil, as distinguished from mining, electrical or mechanical.

The leading technical organization in this country, by reason of its age (75 years), its wealth, its distinguished membership of over 12,000, its maintenance of highest professional standards for admission and professional conduct of any of the engineering societies, is the American Society of Civil Engineers. This organization is not a member of the American Engineering Council.

Until this Society has spoken, through its Board of Direction, against the Boulder Dam, you are unwarranted in making the charges that you have against the engineering profession for dipping its oar into unfamiliar waters, or selling out to special interests.

ELBERT M. CHANDLER.

Olympia, Washington.

[We are happy to know that the American Society of Civil Engineers has not been responsible for any such statement as that of the American Engineering Council opposing federal construction of the Boulder Dam project. We hope it will not become so, since the statement in question involved is not an engineering, but a political and economic judgment. This is just the sort of response we hoped the editorial would call forth.—THE EDITORS.]

A Challenge to Liberal Teachers

SIR: Your recent discussions of liberalism interest me in a practical way. An inspection of the membership files of Local 5 of the Teachers' Union reveals that the names of many professors and school teachers who have the reputation of being liberal are conspicuous by their absence.

Why is this? Within the metropolitan area there are many teachers whose writings, lectures, and speeches indicate that they have an understanding of the labor movement and a sympathetic appreciation of it, but they do not identify themselves with it in a practical way. It is not because they have not been invited to join the union. Repeated appeals have been made to them directly or indirectly.

It would be unkind to suggest that snobbery is the fundamental explanation of this situation. But still we wonder. Are liberals a kind of unembodied spirits that cannot stand the stress and strain of the workaday world?

May we make through your journal another appeal to teachers to join with us in our efforts to align ourselves with what we believe to be potentially the most powerful social force making for progress, the labor movement of the world?

Those who are interested should communicate with the Teachers' Union, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, or with the national office of the American Federation of Teachers, 327 South La Salle Street, Chicago.

C. J. HENDLEY,
Secretary-Treasurer, Local 5,
American Federation of Teachers.

New York City.

For Better Playgrounds

SIR: It may interest your readers to know that the Women's City Club of New York has just released a motion picture, "Playtime," which is the story of the babes-in-the-wood brought up to date. Tom and Ruth are not two neglected, bedraggled children. They are children of the middle classes, with enough to eat and wear, and a mother who is doing her part in bringing them up properly. The one thing they lack in the thriving eastern city to which they have moved is some safe and interesting place to play. The result of this lack is a series of strange and perilous adventures of these two children, who are merely trying to satisfy their normal instinct to play. The Women's City Club of New York feels that there is great need for public education in this matter of every child having the right to a place to play. It is for this reason that it has had a good dramatic two-reel motion picture made, showing what happens if they don't. If any of your readers will help lend publicity to the fact that such a picture is available, they will be doing service to the cause of child welfare throughout the country.

KATHARINE L. POTTER.
Chairman, Committee on Recreation.

New York City.

Ernest Boyd on Emerson

SIR: It was my privilege a few weeks ago to hear a lecture by Mr. Ernest Boyd given at a branch library in this city, the lecture being one of a series entitled "Literary Main Currents"; and the convictions I brought away from it have been growing on me so strongly since then that I feel unable to keep silent about them any longer. The subject for the evening was: "America and England—the Lands of Contrast." Mr. Boyd showed his delicate treatment of contemporary phases of American literature by devoting his attention almost wholly to Anderson, Mencken, and—Upton Sinclair! But the crowning point of the evening came when, upon lapsing into the subject of tradition, he lumped together strict conformists like Longfellow, Whittier, and Lowell with an out-and-out rebel like Emerson, and, after dismissing them all as the "New England School," concluded his brief paragraph on this general topic with the remark that "Emerson's 'Essays' might well have been written in *England.*" Such a remark is, to use a favorite word of Mr. Boyd's, a blasphemy. Emerson's Yankee thrift, the virulent toughness of his sentence, and that sort of "moral electricity" which, as Burroughs pointed out, plays over his whole page, are qualities which could never have been produced in England and are absolutely indigenous to American soil. Emerson apparently outraged the conventional English writer of his day, whose attitude is well illustrated by such a scholar as Andrew Lang, who wrote a well known parody of "Brahma." And it is clear from "Discourses in America" that even Arnold missed the point about Emerson, and never gave himself wholly over to the charm of his page.

Mr. Boyd's implication is, then, that there was no American literature before Sherwood Anderson, or, rather, that we have no tradition? Of course, he made no mention of Whitman, as his antipathy in that connection is known. Yet does it seem right that even Mr. Boyd should make such cursory dismissals as these? If Mr. Boyd is to function as a prophet of literature for an American audience, as he seems to have been doing for some time, he might, at least, first bring himself to an appreciation of our tradition.

S. H. SHERMAN.

New York City.

Is a Pacifist a Citizen?

SIR: May we ask the help of your readers in getting information concerning the difficulties met by persons convicted during the War for their anti-war views? All of them are still without the rights of citizenship. These rights are fixed by the states, and therefore vary. In some, they cannot legally vote or serve on juries. In others, they cannot get licenses for certain professions or hold public office.

The Civil Liberties Union has tried, through quiet work at Washington, to secure restoration of the rights of citizenship to all the 1,500 persons convicted for their opinions during the War. We have not secured results by quiet methods, and we are now about to engage in a public campaign. For that purpose, we want material directly from the persons affected, showing just what difficulties they have met. Will any of your readers who know any pertinent facts, or who have the names and addresses of any persons so convicted, be good enough to inform the American Civil Liberties Union, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City?

ROGER BALDWIN.

New York City.

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Three English Critics

Leaves and Fruit, by Sir Edmund Gosse. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 382 pages. $2.75.

Aspects of the Novel, by E. M. Forster. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 250 pages. $2.50.

The Classical Tradition in Poetry, by Gilbert Murray. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 274 pages. $2.50.

THESE three books seem fairly to represent the top level of English criticism today. Edmund Gosse's is the least important: it is merely a collection of brief weekly articles on miscellaneous subjects. Yet this is not the only reason why the author does not carry quite the weight which his intelligence and learning seem to warrant. On the paper jacket of "Leaves and Fruit" there is an unusually fatuous quotation from some article or review: "Gosse occupies in the world of letters today a unique position. He is the best literary critic of the twentieth century." We reflect on this and we ask ourselves why we decline to believe that Sir Edmund is the best literary critic even of his own generation in England. Why, for example, do we prefer George Saintsbury? We come to the conclusion that, if we are reluctant to grant Gosse a high place in literature, it is simply because that does not seem to be precisely the kind of high place at which he himself has aimed. Where Saintsbury is a connoisseur of books, with some prejudices but an incorruptible palate, who writes about literature as candidly, as eagerly and as freely as he does about wine, Edmund Gosse appears to be haunted, in his practice of criticism, by irrelevant fears and inhibitions. His taste for literature is genuine and his familiarity with it complete; and he has not only read and enjoyed, but has understood. When in the present volume, for example, he writes of Mallarmé, or even of Edith Sitwell, it is with an intelligent appreciation of modern poetry of a kind quite uncommon in contemporary English criticism: he understands the issues which these poets raise, and these issues do not terrify him. He is, however, a little afraid that they may terrify other people. Before he will go so far as to take Mallarmé seriously, he is insistent to make us understand that he is not to be classed with those "literary snobs" who have said so many "vain and foolish things in praise of Mallarmé"; and he is careful to let us know that he considers many of Miss Sitwell's extravagances in very poor taste. When it is a case of naughty morals, even so far back as the seventeenth century, though he may profess a lively admiration for the intelligence or charm of his subject, he would not have us believe for a moment that he approves of his dissolute courses: the decorous tone which he adopts in dealing with Rochester or Ninon de L'Enclos is almost ludicrous: the latter was certainly a woman of admirable character from any except the most prudish standards, and she would certainly, in any case, seem to have been long enough dead to relieve Sir Edmund Gosse from the necessity of behaving so coyly about her for the benefit of his British readers. But Sir Edmund cares what people say; that is a concern never far from his mind. He has aimed all his life, perhaps, at becoming not so much a first-rate writer as a distinguished institution. He has rarely allowed a preoccupation with beauty or with truth to confuse an instinct for respectability. And once we have read George Moore's "Avowals," we are never afterward able to read Gosse without remembering the faintly comic role which he is made to play in it.

E. M. Forster's "Aspects of the Novel" is an extraordinarily entertaining series of lectures delivered at Cambridge (England). Mr. Forster is interesting because he is a novelist writing on his art and because—what doesn't always follow in these cases—he has thoroughly read its literature. I should agree with Ford Madox Ford, in a recent review, that there is about the informal tone of these papers far too much of the facetiousness of Punch: Forster's irrepressible kittenishness is certainly the worst feature of his book. But I disagree with Ford in his contention that Forster underestimates the importance of "form" in the novel. Ford himself is a novelist who seems to understand only one kind of form, the form of Henry James and Flaubert. But it seems to me that Forster's value as a critic lies precisely in the fact that he is a sophisticated novelist who appreciates all kinds of novels. James, for example, could not read Dostoyevsky, and considered that Dostoyevsky had no "form"; yet, in his own way, Dostoyevsky has form, and has, in any case, something else which compensates us amply for the lack of James's kind of form. Perhaps the most interesting chapter in Forster deals with what he calls the "prophetic novelists"—a group in which he includes Dostoyevsky, D. H. Lawrence, Emily Brontë and Herman Melville. On other subjects, he is less satisfactory. After an admirable analysis of Henry James's "Ambassadors," in which he has made the moral of the story quite clear, he goes on to deny that James's novels were intended to have any moral; and of "Ulysses" he says that it is "a dogged attempt to cover the universe with mud . . . a simplification of the human character in the interests of Hell." Now the world represented by Joyce in "Ulysses" is certainly very badly drained, both within and without; but how can it be said to simplify human character in the interests of Hell? Does it make humanity seem any more ignoble than, say, the novels of Arnold Bennett, who has the same opinion of "Ulysses" as Forster? Haven't Joyce's characters, as a matter of fact, in spite of all the demons by which their minds are visited, a good deal of moral dignity? We feel in Forster a curious limitation which we do not at first expect of him: he appears to be an exceptionally intelligent man, yet, beyond a certain point, his intelligence does not seem to function. He is willing half or three-quarters to understand the writer with whom he is dealing, but beyond that he is content to confront him with an insensitive and complacent British countenance.

Gilbert Murray's "Classical Tradition in Poetry," the first series of Charles Eliot Norton lectures at Harvard, is far the most interesting book of the three. Gilbert Murray, too, has his faults, but they are not precisely limitations of intelligence. It would be more proper to say that he was sentimental. Anthropology, like Euripides, is a subject which, in his present book, brings tears to Professor Murray's eyes; and it irritates us a little to hear the development of early Greek poetry outlined in this eighteen-ninety fashion: "Love, Strife, Death, and that which is beyond Death. Those are, it would seem, definitely the four themes about which our earliest bards sang, and, when singing was not enough to express all their stress of emotion, yearned and reached out their arms amid the dancers." We get so tired of hearing him repeat the formula, "Love, Strife, Death, and that which is beyond Death," that we are almost ready to reject his argument. "The Classical Tradition in Poetry" remains, however, a remarkable book. If Edmund Gosse is something of a snob and E. M. Forster something of a Philistine, Professor Murray, as a critic, possesses a certain many-sided intelligence and completeness of intellectual equipment as characteristic of British scholarship as snobbishness and philistin-

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ism often are of British criticism. Professor Murray considers poetry from a great variety of points of view—psychological, anthropological, metrical, rhetorical and moral—he understands all these special aspects, yet he never leaves us in any doubt, as so many American professors do, in dealing with similar subjects, that he understands poetry. His book thus raises many kinds of questions; but it seems to me the most intelligent and thorough-going discussion, as well as one of the most eloquent defenses, of the value of classical literature and its relation to our own, that I have ever seen. From the explanation of Greek accent to the warning against the consequences of romanticism (a warning which Professor Murray issues with more gentleness and persuasion than has recently been customary), he succeeds in avoiding all of the usual academic banalities and going straight to, and illuminating, the fundamental problems, which for the ordinary undergraduate student of the classics are usually left in the dark. I quote a passage from his discussion of the modern manifestations of romanticism: "Modern critics seem to hate the thought of 'imitation' or 'representation.' They are in love with the idea of 'self-expression,' self-assertion, the revelation of personality, and the like. I might content myself by quoting the answer of an eminent French artist who was head of the Slade School, to a student who defended careless drawing on the ground that she wanted to express her personality: *'La personnalité de mademoiselle n'intéresse qu'à maman.'* The truth seems to be that whatever you do, you will inevitably reveal your personality, but that, if your work is good, it will be an interesting personality, and, if not, not. Therefore you can safely concentrate on doing the work as well as possible, and let your personality look after itself. . . . I am delighted to find that Shelley, who came as near as anyone to knowing what poetry really is, actually says that the opposite of poetry is egotism. I had never ventured actually, in so many words, to say that, but I had long held that the great obstacle to writing good poetry was egotism. You cannot enter into the kingdom of poetry except by losing yourself. And you lose yourself in something which you contemplate, which you admire and love, which, as the Greeks put it, you 'imitate' and seek to become one with."

EDMUND WILSON.

Communism: Reality and Theory

Communism, by Harold J. Laski. New York: Henry Holt and Company. $1.

COMMUNISM is not any longer a necessarily academic category, unless by the word is meant an inviolate ideal. There is undoubtedly a tendency in many fine minds, which withdraw from the chaos of reality, to set it up as an imaginary commonwealth which never was and cannot be. Mr. Bertrand Russell's mind is one of these. Russia sickened him—he was disillusioned "not as to communism in itself" but as to the thing men made of it in practice. Yet Russia is there, looming in the foreground of contemporary social philosophy, difficult to think around, to ignore in favor of a dream. Over her institutions there falls the hard, clear light of the known, the measured, the distinctly seen. The haze of Utopia is disturbingly dissipated in the sun of her gathering strength. That life, even conceived as the good of all, must be lived in the old and stubborn villages of the plain, in cities which shape themselves with terrifying slowness to the human will for change, is a given phenomenon now, a bitter one, but inescapable. That the men and women we have known or read about on corner soap-boxes, in crowded, smoky rooms, in cellars, have all the time been talking about something which might come alive, is devastatingly apparent. And that they may not like it in the flesh so well as they did in the marble is a sad fact, but a true one. Russia, succeeding as she is, is giving many a social philosopher pause.

But Mr. Laski is a student of political institutions, not a soap-box orator. He may have met with revolutionists in cellars; but it is difficult to picture him so. Yet how shall we approach this book of his about communism except we assume his own assumption that this ideal state is something talked about rather than lived in? That is what—that is practically all—he knows of it.

Yet it is right, of course, to set this single communist state of which there has been any experience, in its own background of theoretical preparation. The Utopians, Karl Marx, the Russian exiles, created a classical theory as finished and symmetrical as that antithetical one which was erected by the English economists. In practice, communism may be no more like its ideal literary prognosis than the capitalism of Britain or America is like Alfred Marshall's or J. B. Clark's system. But the one no less than the other deserves an exegesis of its theory. The economic harmonies of conflict in the free-competitive order have important effects in the going systems of the West; the proletarian dictatorship, the united front and rigidly controlled institutions have similar effects in Russia.

But there is a danger in this approach which is infrequently appreciated. To study the classical theory of communism before seeing it in action leaves one in a relatively poor position to assess the realities of present Russia. American schoolboys who have been kept isolated from factories and offices while they were being led into the mysteries of *laissez-faire* economics are, however, in a situation not much better. If subsequently they become lawyers, statesmen, or editors, they stand an excellent chance of never discovering that reality conforms pretty badly to theory; and that action founded on theory is nearly certain to be ruinous rather than salutary. The revolutionary Russians who were most doctrinaire made the poorest executives of a state which had, somehow, to function, to conform to economic determinants, to feed and clothe a people. Most of them had to be deposed—even sent into exile. We have no Siberia for ex-statesmen who remain orthodox in changing times. Our lack of ruthlessness may turn out to be a handicap.

On the whole, Mr. Laski's book is such a treatment of communism as one would get of capitalism if a rewriting of Ricardo were undertaken in similar vein. Of its own kind, it is good; it belongs, indeed, to the best. The theory of the state, the economic doctrines, are reduced to meaty, well lit pages which are acceptable to read for their spirit as well as their body. There is no exception of this sort to be taken. It is only that, when another kind of study is possible, there is reasonable objection to this approach. Perhaps communism is, in itself, something; perhaps capitalism is also, in itself, something. I cannot somehow understand these systems in that way. Defining them by what they do seems, though more difficult, more infected with the probability of error, much more useful. Somehow, what Marx said, even what Lenin said, seems dreadfully academic; it cannot possibly be of interest to others of us than those who take our life diluted through books. I happen to have been in Russia, to have lived in America; and the acquired taste for raw life in the making—which

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distinguishes both alike and which quickens the pulses to see —has got the better of many bookish years.

To know what communism is, one must, I am convinced, go to Russia. Mr. Laski hasn't got it in his book, though much of it has got itself into the books of Mr. Albert Rhys Williams. But then Mr. Williams is an artist who somehow captured the saltness of that earth. The only other places where it exists is in figures and charts which picture, to one with a really modern imaginative equipment, the quintessence of reality. But so few like figures, or can understand them. . . .

It ought, in all fairness, to be said that Mr. Laski recognizes, at odd moments, the validity of this attitude. "So . . . the Russian technique has become the classical formula of communism; and debate upon the meaning of Marx's terminology has today little more than an historical interest." What is said of Marx's terminology is true; what is more important is that this is equally true of Lenin, of Trotsky or of Bukharin. The Russian technique is not only the classical formula of communism, *it is communism itself.* The thing is in the making there. And the contemporary writings of its political and economic theorists are polemic. The practice, not the theory, contains what is becoming the classical formula. When Stalin writes a pamphlet or Kalenin makes a speech, it is to bring what is necessary for practical executives to do into sufficient correspondence with orthodoxy to maintain discipline among the more fervent, but less mentally agile rank and file. When the opposition does likewise, it is no more to be taken seriously than are the speeches of one of our own senatorial orators. Neither creates communism or contributes to it; about as good an idea of communist practice can be had by reading Russian political literature as could be had of American capitalism by similar exercise. Gosplan is a more important institution to know than the Third International. We are apt to be confused because one is a political instrument and the other only economic. But in Russia, it is absolutely necessary to see, the economists, not the vocal politicians, are in charge of the state.

If what is wanted is an exposition of theoretical communism, done by way of literary exegesis, in happy, confident, full-bodied English, there is nothing better than this solid little book. As one reader, I can testify to thorough satisfaction. But it isn't the communism which is taking shape on the steppes of Russia and in the minds of peasants and of city folk. That is something else again, which you have to experience if you would know. But as a beginning, you might look at "The Russian Land."

R. G. Tugwell.

The Intellectual Spotlight

Voltaire, by Laura Riding. London: The Hogarth Press. 30 pages. 5s.

THIS curious little poem by Miss Riding moves one to sundry reflections on what might be termed the esthetic by-products which may be obtained, in poetry, if the poet goes consciously in pursuit of the odd. Perhaps one does Miss Riding an injustice, when one assumes—as the present reviewer does—that she has deliberately gone forth in search of the felicitously curious. At all events, one receives that impression; one feels that Miss Riding has determined to be odd and original or nothing; that she would rather be energetic than gracious, prefers the angular to the sentimental, has a relish for the bitter and perhaps despises the sweet. Her free verse is certainly energetic, it is certainly not sentimental. It is cryptic, pungent, jerky, often forcefully suggestive, frequently witty, seldom engaging, and almost never memorable. One can read this poem, once, with a very considerable cerebral pleasure; but once read, one wonders if one could ever return to it with that renewal and deepening of delight which is the secret of the genuinely and deeply poetic. Its ironies are obvious, and one extracts them easily enough at first reading. Its critical alertness is attractive without being exciting: one thinks of the author as being a sophisticated person, and prides oneself, a little, on one's ability to match one's own sophistication against hers. Of certain passages one can say "How true!" or "How witty!" or "How succinct and graphic!" but they seldom draw one back for that further secret sustenance that one can suck from those poems of which the emotional roots are deeper. Can one say, baldly, that this sort of poetry lies too close to the tone of satirical prose, and that taking to itself the virtue of this (a virtue which in verse has the element of surprise), it unfortunately sacrifices the warmer qualities of poetry? Some such objection or doubt as this comes to one's mind, as one reads this ingenious poem; and one also records a fleeting question as to whether it was not importantly influenced by Miss Amy Lowell's queer experiments in narrative. It has something of Miss Lowell's Dickensian and exclamatory objectiveness—a conscious objectiveness of which the ring is false and nevertheless oddly inviting. That Miss Riding has ability one cannot doubt; but one wonders whether she might not do more with it, if she kept it less zealously under an intellectual spotlight.

Conrad Aiken.

Reëducating Human Nature

The Problem of Lay-Analyses, by Sigmund Freud. Translated by A. Paul Maerker-Branden and James Strachey. New York: Brentano's. 316 pages. $2.50.

Theory and Technique of Psychoanalysis, by Sandor Ferenczi, M. D. Compiled by John Rickman, M. A., M. D. Translated by Jane Isabel Suttie, and others. New York: Boni and Liveright. 473 pages. $5.

THE most ironic comment on the older static psychology is that it was a psychology without human nature. When we speak of the newer dynamic psychology, we mean to draw attention to the perplexities, disharmonies, and maladjustments that collectively constitute a human nature *in reality.*

We may distinguish five stages in the evolution of psychology: the metaphysical, the mathematical, the physiological, the psycho-physiological, and the psychological proper. The great names representative of these approaches would include Aristotle, Fechner, Helmholtz, Wundt, Freud. The emphasis, until the ascendancy of psychoanalysis, was almost wholly upon organs and specific reactions and precise laboratory technique. The revolution in the content and method and aim of psychology that the Freudians ushered in stressed not organs but organisms and personalities, not specific sensory reactions but rather general and human emotional reactions, not mathematically precise quantitative technique, but what we may call a clinically valid qualitative technique.

Human nature in its complexity and perplexity became the vital subject matter of psychological exploration under conditions that promised a maximum amount of clinical contact and observation of the personality as a whole in

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a state of tension and stress and inner conflict. Psychology became, for the first time in its history, genuinely dynamic and humanistic.

It is worth lingering a moment to survey the deep differences between the assumptions of the older and the newer psychology. If we agree to characterize the former as essentially static and the latter as quintessentially dynamic, we can understand the more readily how sharp the antitheses between their basic preconceptions. Perhaps the presentation of these differences in a parallel will make the matter fairly clear:

Assumptions of static psychology	*Assumptions of dynamic psychology*
rationality	irrationality
normality	abnormality
consciousness	sub-consciousness
organs	organisms, personalities
science—facts	science—interpretations, values
laboratory—research center	life—research center
adult reactions most important	infantile reactions most important
method: quantitative perfection	method: qualitative generalization
social forces neglected	social forces appreciated
utility lightly regarded	utility highly regarded
association: primary fact	dissociation: fundamental datum

In a brief review, we must content ourselves with a merely sketchy analysis of the vast field under discussion. Two facts stand out with a marvelous clarity: the shift of the center of gravity from the academic laboratory to the psychiatric clinic, and the substitution of the dynamic concept of personality, of organism, for the static concept of fragments-of-personality, of organs, as the significant subject matter of psychological study. Strangely enough, psychology concerns itself almost exclusively now with human nature.

It is extremely amusing to realize that the most brilliant contribution to psychology has come from a man and a method that brushed aside, with an almost vandalistic contempt, the lovely instruments of precision which indoor psychologizing, proudly fashioning itself upon physics as a virginal model, had been modestly perfecting for a generation or more. Freud, trusting to imagination and insight and personal wisdom, ignored, as if they were of no account, both the mathematical and the physiological approaches to the problems of psychology.

Freud is a tough-minded dogmatist who cannot be persuaded to relinquish, except with a very great, half-concealed reluctance, any of his original ideas. He still writes in a style that partakes of metaphysics and mythology, using concepts too animistically. He juggles such vital terms as "super-ego," the "I," the "It," the repression, the censor, the unconscious, as if he were handling terms magically endowed with potency for good or evil. It is surprising that so great a mind as Freud's has not made a better intellectual accommodation to scientific sobriety. His speculative and luxuriantly imaginative mind is congenitally hostile to simplicity and humility and tentativeness. For all that, the Freudian theories and analyses are wonderfully illuminating.

Freud's intelligent and impressive defense of the right and competence of the trained layman to practise psychoanalysis will fail to convince only that vested interest which flourishes by the tactics of exclusion and discrimination. Nothing is more evident, these excessively professional days, than the silly hostility of the medical man to those invasions of "his" sphere of influence which are being made by consulting psychologists, experts in individual psychology, specialists in reëducation, habit clinicians, and lay psychoanalysts whose temperamental and experiential fitness for the job may be greater than his own. In America, thanks to the remarkable growth of the Mental Hygiene movement, many bonds of cordiality and sagacious coöperation have been forged, as a result of which doctors, psychoanalysts, psychologists, social workers, educators, and consultants of various schools are all pooling their interests in behalf of the creation of a humanistic psychology that will meet the personal crises and social emergencies precipitated by our increasingly psychopathologic civilization.

Ferenczi's eminently readable volume will be of particular interest to the specialist. It covers a wide and provocative variety of subject matter, and manages to leave the impression not only of a splendid scholarship, but, what is more to the point, of an unusual personality. Ferenczi's ingenuity as an analyst is great. He has made several contributions, the most important of which is perhaps his insistence upon an "active technique" in many cases that go along too haltingly when the patient is permitted to indulge the unhindered reverie-mood of sheer passivity. In my opinion, this cautious correction of the orthodox Freudian technique which Ferenczi, too loyal to his master, stammeringly presents as of real importance in a truly adequate psychoanalysis, deserves much more attention. If the psychoanalytic way of thinking and of healing is to be more and more widely employed for educational and reëducational purposes, then this active therapy will certainly gain a greater vogue, as it already has among the Adlerians and Jungians and psychological consultants.

The reëducation of the sexes is the ultimate inspiring hope of an increasing number of men and women who, perceiving the recurrent futility, irrationality, and tragedy of human nature, are yet dedicated to the idea that human beings can be saved to beauty and high utility by a courageous transformation of the social system toward non-acquisitive goals, and of human nature toward creative activity.

No one interested in the most lucidly presented of the Freudian studies will want to omit "The Problem of Lay-Analyses," especially the part entitled "An Autobiographical Study," that reveals Freud as the most ingenious and creative mind that modern psychology, and certainly modern medicine, has produced. S. DANIEL HOUSE.

Van Gogh's Letters

The Letters of Vincent van Gogh to his Brother, With a Memoir by his Sister-in-Law, J. van Gogh-Bonger. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. Two vols. 1,201 pages. $15.

THESE volumes of letters are undoubtedly one of the profound events of the literary year. They were written by Vincent van Gogh to his brother, Theo, who, from his position in Paris with an art dealer, gave Vincent the money and the faith on which he was to live during these years covered by the letters—1872 to 1886, when Vincent joined Theo in Paris.

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LECTURES

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Program Feb. 24—March 3

AT COOPER UNION

(8th Street and Astor Place, at 8 o'clock)

Admission Free

Friday, Feb. 24—Everett Dean Martin: "The Influence of Rising Industrialism on the American Mind. A Lecture on Work, Ambition and Exploitation."

Sunday, Feb. 26—A. Wakefield Slaten: "Taking the Ill Out of Illusion."

Tuesday, Feb. 28—John Howard Lawson: "Psychologizing the Playwrights."

AT MUHLENBERG BRANCH LIBRARY

209 West 23rd St., at 8:30 o'clock

Monday, Feb. 27—Mark Van Doren: "Pope."

Wednesday, Feb. 29 — Kenneth C. Blanchard: "Chemical Changes in the Cell."

Thursday, March 1—E. G. Spaulding: "What Is Error?"

Saturday, March 3—Horace M. Kallen: "Human Hopes and Kismet, Predestination and Providence."

GENERAL

MOTHER, 5 young children—Vassar graduate, graduate Student Teachers College, former Brearley School teacher—will take into her home at Woodstock, Vt., one or two children between ages of 3 and 5. Physical and mental examinations, also references required—Terms moderate. Address Box 533, The New Republic.

Mother of a two year-old boy, and her sister offer special care, until October, to two or three young children in their home in the country an hour from New York. Interviews evenings or week ends. **Telephone: Croton 357, Alice E. Rothschild, Croton-on-Hudson, New York.**

WANTED: Woman to share my apartment in a detached, Brooklyn house. Address Box 541, The New Republic.

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wished, to Vincent's fame. She had in hand not the paintings alone but also the correspondence, which she copied out by hand, and saw through to the Dutch, German and French editions, and of which before her death she made the translation that fills these two volumes in English. Her account of the van Gogh family, of Theo's love for Vincent and of Vincent van Gogh's life, is a fine, full document.

This simple, profound record, oblivious of all the Paris gossip and that smart promotion of journalists and picture dealers, prepares us for the story of these 458 letters that follow. In them we see the preacher's family in their country parsonage, the pure, gentle father, the salty, deep mother, the brothers and sisters. We read Vincent's letters from the time he went to work for Messrs. Goupil at the Hague, and later from London and Paris, and finally from that period when he gave up all attempts at making a living and took to drawing and painting. He is uncouth, starved, ruining his health day by day, antagonizing first one uncle after another, one acquaintance after another, but not deserted by his parents at home, and hardly even doubted by Theo, who writes to him, visits him, sends him a monthly allowance, and books, prints and comforts, with an affection that was itself a kind of genius.

There is something so deep and terrible about these letters and the love beneath them, the sincerity and simplicity of the life they portray in van Gogh, the transitions that took place in him from one intense plane to another of spiritual belief, and living, and progress in the determined integrity of his art, that the whole sum of them is almost overwhelming. We are made humble before what is in them, and appalled at the cost of it. We can only mention their tenderness, their ironic loneliness, their honesty and irascible austerity, their homely accounts of cottages and food and furniture side by side with things he could say only to this brother—passages that range from "my boarding-house costs me 18 shillings a week, washing excepted, and then I have still to take my dinner in the city," to "if you could feel exactly how I put my serenity 'in worship of sorrow' and not in illusions, then perhaps, even for you, brother, my inmost soul would be different and more detached from life than even you can imagine now." We find in the letters the record of his relations with the woman he picked up off the streets because she was ill and was going to have a child, took home with him to share what bread he had, sent to the maternity hospital, and later on would have married if she had not been such that even he saw at last that she was impossible. With her in his mind he speaks of the graves of Béranger's mistress and Corot's: "Quiet muses these women were, and in the emotion of those gentle masters, in the intimacy, the pathos of their poetry, I always feel everywhere the influence of a woman's element."

Toward the latter half of the second volume we gather more of his mind and its preoccupations, as we see him at the art schools in Antwerp, see his measurement and defiance of the teachers, his sense of what comes from a subject "well contemplated and at leisure," his reflections on the canvases of the masters that are studied in the museums around him, and finally that combination of starvation in every kind, food, art material and conversation, and that despondency and despair and unbreakable confidence in his work, that sent him off to Paris. At this point the letters stop. They do not include the Paris interval, the time at Arles, when van Gogh's art "reached its summit," in such pieces as "The Poet's Garden," "The Sower," "The Starlit Night"; nor do they include the life with Gauguin, the breakdown of van Gogh's physique into fits of insanity, the cutting off a piece of his ear and taking it to a prostitute, and finally his attempt at suicide and his death at Auvers on the twenty-ninth of July, 1890.

S. Y.

Recent Fiction

A Fairy Leapt Upon My Knee, by Bea Howe. New York: The Viking Press. $2.

THE quotation from Blake which serves as title for this book was not a felicitous choice. "A Fairy Leapt Upon My Knee" is not so incurably elfin as it sounds. To reassure those who blench at the idea of "whimsy," Bea Howe has not written a fable, but a very delicate and charming story about two young lovers who gradually lose the curious emotional detachment which keeps them aloof. To be sure, they are brought together by a fairy—a tiny inarticulate fairy discovered one night by William when he is moth-hunting in the wood. He learns painfully, and after a quarrel with Evelina, that this little being cannot be treated as one of his scientific specimens, but belongs to a world of imagination, which he has neglected. Very slowly his heart breaks through its cool crust. He becomes human and knows his loneliness. Miss Howe has not the delicious wit of Sylvia Townsend Warner, nor is her style so exquisite, but this tale belongs to the same fragile genre as "Lolly Willowes," and possesses an additional quality of tenderness.

E. H. W.

The Llanfear Pattern, by Francis Biddle. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.

MR. BIDDLE'S version of the parable of the rich young man is the story, well placed, well peopled, of a Philadelphian who has left Harvard ardent to fight as a citizen and a lawyer for clear sight, frankness, his own truth. His adventures in politics and in the life of his long-established clan leave him at forty encouraging in himself the clan's theory that it is by working quietly, inconspicuously, from within, not by showy rebellions, that a citizen best serves; and exalting family affection, as if he so excused himself for not leaving shelter. He pays, however, for the peace of surrender by moments when the chivalric ardor he has damped down flares up, and he has again his old intimate faith in what can be a man's part in the world, in the reaches of man's soul. Yet his conscious pleasure in the activity of his intellect, in his balancing feat, may even seem a happy ending. Youth's ardors and absolutes have not left bitterness behind.

E. B.

Contributors

SHAEMAS O'SHEEL has contributed verse and prose to current periodicals.

EDITH SITWELL, sister of Osbert and Sacheverell Sitwell, is the author of "The Mother and Other Poems," "The Sleeping Beauty," and other books.

CONRAD AIKEN is the author of "Priapus and the Pool," "Skepticisms," and other books.

R. G. TUGWELL, a member of the department of Economics at Columbia University, was one of the collaborating authors of "American Economic Life and the Means of Its Improvement."

S. DANIEL HOUSE, M. D., has contributed articles on sociology, medicine and psychoanalysis to various magazines.

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The New
REPUBLIC

Adult Education Section

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Adult Education: A New Means for Liberals

. . . when all is said and done, intelligence and ideas are the supreme force in the settlement of social issues.—John Dewey.

THE faith ascribed to Justice Holmes, and by implication subscribed to by Mr. Dewey himself, belongs to all liberals. Those who deny it must resort to some form of differentiated will or coercion as the means of social change; they thereby divorce themselves from the method of liberalism. The question which remains to be settled by liberals is this: What kinds of intelligence and what sorts of ideas are needed to overcome social inertia? And how are we to acquire such intelligence and such ideas?

Each liberal has, from his own point of view and in terms of his personal predispositions, sought an answer to this query. Now and then the idea hit upon and the intelligence elicited by its struggle for acceptance has exercised a regenerating effect. The idea of democracy, for example, was a dynamic concept and an intellectual disturbance. One could not even play with this idea without raising multifarious questions regarding human nature, the social process and the State; and once the idea was taken seriously enough to lead to experimentation, there followed an intellectual movement of universal significance. It was the sort of an idea which evolved quickly into an ideal, a goal to be reached and an end to be consummated. Unhappily, so much attention was given to its achievement as end that the kind of democracy which was realized, at least in the United States, turned out to be largely mechanical, uninspired, and finally ineffective. While it lasted, however, this idea set going a number of important intellectual and educational forces; and these were, of course, the very forces which were expected to give the democratic ideal its reality and its consummation. Such, by way of illustration, was the public school. Clearly, the idea of democracy implied that those who participated in its processes should somehow bring both intelligence and refined wills into play; consequently,

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universal education at the expense of the community became a logical corollary of theoretical democracy. Education was presumably to be the reconditioning procedure which was to transmute raw democracy, with its rough egalitarian fundamentals, into a creative fellowship. Under such a discipline one could rest assured that all problems would be confronted and solved in the interest of all participants. The liberal goal, thus fortified and lubricated by general education, seemed a glowing possibility.

We now appreciate the shortcomings of education quantitatively conceived. Our system of public education did not merely fail to fulfill the liberal faith, but in reality came to be one of the barriers which stood in the way of such fulfillment. Another idea which soon grew to be a social force entered the lists, namely, the idea that education, in so far as it was a tool, could be used for other and quite different ends. How this happened could only be explained by lengthy historical analyses which involve our hurried application of science to practical affairs, the rapid rise of specialism, the early consolidations of wealth, the vast capacity of economic absorption made possible by our abundant natural resources, the intermixture of races, etc. For our present purposes it is sufficient to point out that the habit of conceiving education which arose in the United States during the period of industrial expansion and urbanization constituted in itself a barrier to the realization of the democratic-liberal ideal. Educational activity multiplied, while intellectual reflection lacked depth. Schools, colleges, universities and compulsory-education laws piled one upon the other at the very time when liberal ideas ceased to be social forces. The time soon arrived when the places of honor were held, not for those who possessed ideas capable of social regeneration, but rather for those who had won pecuniary success. In the meantime, the liberal idea withered or was kept faintly alive by a few individuals or groups who influenced the main stream of public affairs but slightly. Indeed, its complete decay is now heralded by fascists and communists everywhere.

Suddenly, and with something of a shock to habits long in forming, one comes to realize that the above criticism of American life is no longer wholly true. We, and our foreign critics, are not yet aware of the fact that what appears on the surface of our civilization is not truly representative of what goes on underneath. A sure though subtle revaluation of values is proceeding in our midst, whose portents are significant for liberalism and education. The perturbation here to be noted is, like the liberalism manifest in Justice Holmes' minority opinions, confined to the few. But was it not one of the misconceptions of the older theories of liberalism and democracy that success was entirely dependent upon a wide and generalized acceptance? And was not this misconception in part responsible for the growing correlation between democracy and mediocrity? Like pressure, a force may be dissipated by an attack upon too large a surface. At any rate, attention is for the moment directed at manifestations which are latent with force, not because of their bigness or spread, but rather because of their inherent germinal qualities.

In order to locate the nuclei of important agitations, one must turn the gaze away from larger affairs of politics and business, away, in fact, from all systems. Mass movements may go in the direction of great ends, but the ends themselves are conceived by individuals, or where two or three at most are gathered together. Approaching the situation from educational points of view, and using the telescope reversed to a narrowed vision, one finds, for example, experimental schools for children. Here is a focus small enough to invite steady inspection, and yet large enough in its implications to reshape future society. Digging beneath the roots of these small ventures, one discovers that the whole conception of education is being reëvaluated and revamped. For these are not merely experimental schools, but schools where education itself is viewed as the great experiment. So long as education was conceived as a process of inducting children into the accumulated wisdom of adults, it offered no real freedom, no break in the vicious circle of habit, custom, and tradition. Education is egress, not ingress; experiencing, not imitating experience. This we are slowly beginning to learn, and, in proportion as our knowledge leads to action, we are giving children more and more opportunities for educating themselves through self-expression. This experiment, small as it is, tends to change many attitudes and preconceptions. Whereas educators were once concerned about subjects and the curriculum, they now give increasing attention to experience and method. Whereas educationists once thought of the school in terms of external ends—the state, citizenship, industry, etc.—they now give more attention to its relation to the individual pupil and his interests. These are important changes, and if someone retorts by reminding us that the public schools have not generally adopted these methods, there are at least two answers: first, the public-schools system is, by reason of its size and its public context, a resistant mass; experimental schools confront this mass as a challenge, and so long as this challenge stands they cannot escape its critical results. Second, the end-result of experimental education should be creative freedom, and no matter how small in numbers the product is, education as a whole cannot solidify so long as freedom-bearers exist.

But children are accessory to liberalism only in a

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potential sense. They grow into and must ultimately adjust themselves to an adult world. The freedom which they have learned, or rather which has accompanied their learning, may be found to be wholly incompatible with those forces which settle social issues in the actual world of affairs. They may, indeed, find themselves later in colleges and universities where the entire system of instruction is based upon ideals which lead to a narrow utilitarianism, rather than to the settlement of social issues. And, even though they hurdle the so-called higher education, will they not find themselves confronted with the necessities and compulsions of a world which demands specialists, not liberally educated individuals? We shall omit discussion of this question in so far as it pertains to higher education, save to remark that dissatisfaction grows and experiments are in process. On the whole, it seems safe to state that the colleges and universities, like the public schools, are only dimly aware of the organic relation between learning and liberty.

No matter how finely education is conceived and executed for children, the fact remains that adults will always manage important affairs. Besides, it is sheer folly to expect liberally educated children to grow into liberal adulthood in a society where anti-liberalism succeeds. The splendid liberalism of youth, with all its generous devotions, turns into something hard and ironical when it finds no suitable means of expression. Perhaps the most cynical of all remarks about human nature is not that which denies it improvability, but rather that which comes from the adult who concedes incapacity, and refers problems to generations still unborn. And no matter how excited we may become over experimental education for children, we shall not have faced the real issue until we recognize that what applies to them applies equally to adults. Such recognition has now come, in a meager form it is true, but at last grown-up people are beginning to inquire seriously about the state of their intelligence. This inquiry is, in some respects, the most hopeful sign of our time.

There are, as usual, two sets of theories regarding the new movement, which goes by the awkward and misleading title of "adult education." Some believe that adults should continue their education merely because education is a handy article to have about. There is no telling when it may not become useful, or at least conversationally appropriate. Others believe that education is only a valid process when the learning person knows why he wants to learn. Adherents of the first school of thought may be called "culturists" and the second "problem-solvers." Learning which persists within an atmosphere of continuous expectancy may have its uses, but is not the kind of learning which will regenerate individuals and societies. The kind of learning, on the other hand, which is immediately usable, functional learning, has its own tests and criteria, and may therefore be seriously discussed. The thesis of this essay is, in effect, that liberalism can become effective only when it derives from a valid learning process which is continous, co-terminous, with life itself.

The first credential to be required of an adult who conceives of his learning in cumulative terms is this: How far does learning contribute to an understanding of oneself? If ideas and intelligence are to be translated into the supreme force which settles social issues, we shall need to inquire as to the sources of both. Social issues are not external facts; they reside first of all within human personalities. The liberal cannot solve the social problem, even with the best of will and the warmest feeling, if he is incapable of calmly appraising his own behavior. Self-knowledge is the beginning of all wisdom. But there is no textbook and no oracle available for such knowledge, nor may it be plucked from mystical trees. To pursue knowledge of self is to conduct certain definite experiments. Exercises in accentuated self-consciousness will not lead in the right direction; the process should be one of self-awareness in which acting and thinking are kept integral to each other. The professed liberal who begins such experiments even in the homeliest of situations will soon learn that to think liberally is not enough. He will discover that all his thinking which does not get acted upon is so much wasted energy. He may even discover that many of the ideas which he thought to be intelligent and capable of becoming social forces are not his at all, and that others are obsolete, unworkable. When these discoveries are made, the learner will recognize the necessity of watchful vigilance over his own behavior; he will be viewing himself continuously as a person capable of self-criticism. At this point a new kind of alertness, a new zest for experimentation in all of life's situations is likely to follow. The person thus confronting the whole of experience as if each item, each act and each reflection were pregnant with learning possibilities, will no longer demand merely the satisfaction of great popular victories; he will be always creating a world of progress within himself and within the circle of his vital interests.

The beginning, then, of liberal education is lively self-awareness, unwearied curiosity, and eager experimentation within the context of one's own personality and behavior. But will such a person, or any appreciable number of such persons, pursuing life as though it were education, and education as though it were life, bring into being a workable process for liberal society? At this point the critics

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of the present phase of liberal ideology are sure to bring into play their larger guns of disparagement. Those who enjoy calling themselves behaviorists will quickly find some convenient label such as " sheer subjectivism," "worthless introspection," with which to sweep this entire thesis into the limbo of futility. And those who take their cues from psychoanalytical schools of thought will designate this trend toward self-attention as a form of ego-compulsion, a compensation for unadjustment, or an escape from social responsibility. Each of these criticisms points to a real danger. The answer, obviously, lies in two directions: first, there is the pragmatic response which leads the experimenter to say: Try it, test it. Secondly, there is the theoretical reply which revolves about ways of conceiving self and non-self, individual and society.

No one expects liberalism to become a way of life, as well as a way of conceiving life, by the mere procedure of adding together a certain number of persons who have become curious and experimental about their own behavior. Life is multiplication, not addition, and "progress proceeds in two ways, and freedom is found in that kind of interaction which maintains an environment in which human desire and choice count for something." The self which learns awareness and orients its experience through a conception of continuing education is already a social self. Its vitality and zest for living are derived from social factors; to be dynamic, acquisitive for knowledge, and eager for experiment is to recognize social comparatives; none of these traits has meaning with respect to a single self. Effective knowledge is of the self and other selves. It is not merely knowledge *of* but rather *with* other selves. The method of learning is relational, social. Fruitful knowledge about human beings is not learned wholly in isolated experimental laboratories, but also in the process of active, participating ventures. It is not learning stored up for some probable eventuality, but rather learning within and through actual situations which must be jointly confronted. The liberal learner does not enter situations with his values and qualities fixed and settled in advance; on the contrary, he rediscovers values as he goes on with each situation, just as he discovers new aspects of himself and his fellows. Learning of this sort is learning in action, not learning for the purpose of acting. And certainly, liberals need to be reminded of the social nature of conduct, especially in times when liberalism is discounted. Escape within the subjective self is a perennial temptation. Those critics who entertain disesteem for liberalism on the ground that it tends to become a rarefied faith, a form of spiritual isolation, will do well to bring forward tests and challenges with respect to specific issues. In such instances, the dogmatist will know the solution and the liberal will not; but the liberal, with his attention focused upon the individual self involved and upon the projected, long-time selves which constitute society, will be able to indicate the process by which the issue will lead toward learning. He will not have fears over the end, for he will be constantly validifying the means.

The generation not yet solidified into adult patterns of thought and behavior appears to be weary of dogma and drift. In some respects, it is a generation as badly educated as that which now begins to pass from the scene of power and control. On the side of that kind of intelligence which is prerequisite to broad and generous views of events and persons, it is a disadvantaged generation, since it has been obliged to devote itself more assiduously to specialized studies. On the other hand, it possesses something which the passing generation lacked to a considerable degree, namely, clear-eyed, courageous respect for facts; its demand is for objectivity, about itself as well as about the world into which it grows. These young adults want to know what life is like, and they will not be content with pretty answers. They mean not to shrink from its ugly aspects, but they purpose also to find or create its beauty. Nor will they be as likely to make the same separations, dissociations, which characterized so much of the nineteenth-century intellectual-liberal idealism. In so far as they essay the task of solving social issues, they will realize that intelligence must be both critical and functional. They will, that is, realize all of this, if they and we come to appreciate continuing education as the new means for attaining liberal ends. Education, conceived not as a door which opens and closes at stated periods, but rather as the very air essential for intelligent living, marks the beginning of a new era of experimentation. Its potentialities should quicken the spirits of all those who now stand disillusioned and bewildered in a world where the supreme force which settles many social issues is still so largely infused with fear rather than intelligence.

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN.

Editor's Note:

In the continuing function of the New Republic, the function of commenting upon and critically appraising contemporary civilization, there occur certain nodes or points of emphasis which seem to call for special attention. Occasional supplements devoted to a single topic are experiments designed to meet this need. The present supplement on adult education illustrates the purpose in mind, namely, to give special emphasis to a subject which represents a continuing interest. Due to delays of arrival of foreign contributions, and other exigencies, a number of articles originally intended for this supplement, and thus announced, are regretfully omitted; some of these will appear in succeeding numbers of regular editions.

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World Aspects of Adult Education

THE keynote of adult education is the recognition of the power of individuals or peoples to make fresh starts, to bring forth treasures, new and old, and to correspond with the laws of life and progress, the harmony of which is always and ever to be found in the rhythm of real effort, in the creation of things that matter.

After all, the missionaries of adult education only ought to be tolerated if, in some unexplained way, they can communicate to men and women their conviction that the purpose of human life is to create and fashion reality. Their mission, moreover, must be to all normal men and women and not be confined to special types, although individuals, or, indeed, groups, may have limitations set by the nature of their peculiar gifts or their environment.

It is both foolish and destructive for anyone to attempt to value one type of person above another. Any man or woman who is making the best of himself or herself is as noble as the noblest, and has a place in the scheme of developing humanity. Value falls when individuals are out of place, or attempt to do things inconsistent with their own powers. Owing to a restricted conception of education, appreciation has usually been given to clever and intellectual people, not all of whom have benefited themselves, much less humanity. Unless ordinary and everyday people get on with the job of adult education, it is of no avail. The supreme and splendid must rise naturally out of the simple and the true. As the unity of the world becomes more easily comprehended, owing to the direct result of facilitated intercommunication, certain specific attainments become commonly demanded. The most obvious of these is literacy. To insist that any individual will become his better self through learning to read, write, or count, is in itself unsound. Many, indeed, who have so equipped themselves have fallen into pits they would otherwise have avoided. Even so, the dangers inherent in these extended powers must be faced on the assumption that man can control their use as instruments. So the illiterate adult becomes the material of extended education. The campaign for eliminating his defects in this respect is heartened by slogans such as those current in China: "Everyone able to read in a generation"; "If you cannot read you are blind."

What shall they read? and how shall they read it? are questions left unanswered for the nonce. Even so, the special provision for early readers appears invariably to be the classics, or interpretations of them. In the England of the early nineteenth century, the book was invariably the Bible. Probably England today is as literate a country as any other. Yet a drifting mass of its people, perhaps 25 percent, read a Sunday news sheet which an educated man would hate to see in his house. The educated man, whilst right for himself, may, some think, be wrong for others. Some argue speciously that it is a good thing for certain types of people to indulge and use up their crime instinct in reading narratives of violence, robbery and sex. Yet, be the educated man right or wrong, the dictum "that reading is a fateful gift" is emphasized, and reading is revealed as a mere instrument of the mind which may open the way more easily to the ugly and vicious than to the beautiful and pure. The right use of the radio and the cinema, particularly the latter, not so easily controlled as the former, presents insistent problems which every nation must seek to face, or consequently suffer. An even more important demand is implicit in the gradual assumption by the world of "government of the people, by the people, for the people." The autocratic kings are departing, even if the captains remain. In widespread areas, every man and woman is regarded as a specific voting unit. If a vote is to be cast intelligently, judgment must be intelligent.

This, in spite of the argument that the vote has come too soon, or that it is a clumsy, superficial instrument at best, moreover, that before it can be properly used by a whole people, the *raison d' être* of its existence will vanish, because the community will be destroyed. In any case, many visualize adult education as the projector of an instrument for informing men and women concerning the working of institutions and their relationships the one to the other, or the workings of economic law in action and reaction. Indubitably, in an extended civilization, there must be a good proportion of men and women able to vote and to judge of its effect. So "Education for Citizenship" becomes a world slogan.

In their enthusiasms, the advocates of literacy and citizenship tend to forget the knowledge and training which has made community life possible in any of its aspects anywhere. The customs and practice of the "wise men" in primitive nations are increasingly found to be based upon principles and operating through methods which modern science is slowly realizing to be true. It would sometimes seem that the really important things are unseen, and that the superficial and artificial are laid over the deep and real. Yet it is most certainly true that the only universal thing that really matters is the development of individual personality along the lines of its own momentum, through an inevitable environment in the power of a spiritual tradition.

There is no exclusive material for adult education. It utilizes all the material in all the world, illumined or permeated, or even fused, by the eternal forces, whether classified, blunderingly perhaps, as natural or spiritual. The "spirit of a people" is the

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inevitable result of the workings of mind set in human beings. It is splendid and uplifting, just in so far as the mind works well on real things, in the power of what Bergson calls the "*élan vital*." There are diversities of gifts, and the right use of every gift is a contribution to the well-being of the whole. As individuals differ, so do nations, and if the earth is "to bring forth her increase," then each nation must contribute its own peculiar riches of mind and spirit.

In ascertainable ways, the nations which are great and enduring are those which have absorbed diverse peoples, and given each one of them at least a measure of free play, and liberty of expression in creative work. Some had the power to appreciate and absorb the teaching of other peoples, as witness the Renaissance in England. Some day, in a large way, the whole world may become unified, and do its perfect work. This unification of tradition and thought is an obvious problem set before adult education in the United States. There have poured, and still pour, into her vast area peoples of many races and tongues destined to become "American." That destiny is achieved easily up to a point, but the incidence of the problem rests upon the quality of the life developed under the new conditions. The true "Americanizer" has no doubt at all that, whilst certain superficial but important matters must be considered and learned, and a common language achieved, the important thing is that those to be Americanized should preserve the true spirit of their own people by the free and unfettered expression of the purity and nobility inherent in it, for only so will they develop a noble patriotism for the enrichment of the hospitable but new land.

A right appeal to them, therefore, without exception is—sing your own songs. Make your own music. Tell of your own heroes. Rejoice in the history, both legendary and verified, of your own race. "How shall I sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" may be the question, if unspoken, of some. It may be urged that, so far, universities, colleges, schools and their curricula appear to be regarded as unimportant. In a sense, the accusation is just. Educational institutions may either be imposed upon, or preferably be created by a people. In the former case, they are artificial, in the latter, real. Mere imitation of others is an offense against the light. Rightly constructed, universities and schools take their shape and derive their power from the spiritual and intellectual reservoirs of the world, the waters of which flow through the nations.

There is no glory in a mere multiplicity of educational institutions; they may, and indeed do, in any country, perform the humdrum task of equipping individuals with necessary tools of daily craft or profession, but more is asked of them. They must throb with and be an extension of creative power. One university which breaks a way for human power into the vast hinterland of disease or blind futility, is worth a thousand universities which have sent a lot of people out to litter the world with artificial things and to conduct their quarrels in a manner sanctioned by the high courts.

In the current outbreak of adult educational effort, it is possible to secure the recognition of true values to a greater extent than it is in organized systems. For, apart from vocation, the individual will study joyously only the things which satisfy his own hunger. In the course of time, organization and standardization will set in, but not before much that is of value will have secured permanent place. This new outbreak is universal, so far as what may roughly be called civilized communities are concerned. In so short and deliberately general an article, it is impossible to prove such a statement by details. But Japan, China, European countries, India, the British commonwealth, are all concerned in it. A world association is endeavoring to assist, not by direction, but by encouragement and the provision of desired information. Perchance it may some day succeed in setting free a world spirit. "The multitude of the wise is the welfare of the world." Certainly, it will never confuse wisdom with knowledge, much less with intellectual achievement, but as wisdom expresses itself through the stored and trained mind, so the increase of wisdom will enhance the power of learning and skill.

In general, a survey of the world reveals two adverse tendencies in the minds of many who would utilize adult education. Adverse, not because they are wrong in themselves, but because they have stepped over their legitimate and necessary boundaries. Of these, the more dangerous is the desire to utilize any adult urge toward education for the purposes of propaganda—which, roughly, is the assertion that human thought and power must, if rightly exercised, lead to a predetermined or revealed conclusion in secular or sacred affairs, and that all study must be dominated by an ever-present conclusion. This is an assertion which churches or political parties may make rightly—indeed, ought to make, in their own places—but, in so far as their conclusions are true, they may rest confident, as indeed in some areas they do, that the development of the human mind will increase the number of those who can accept and support their dogmas.

Thus their perception of the legitimate places, and the appropriate occasions for the assertion of their positions, in place of worship or political meeting, becomes clear, provided they recognize and admit the indubitable value of study in which they are content to participate, laying their minds side by side with others, who may be opposed to them in general and in detail. They should seek to preserve such an area of adult education in which they will meet with others on neutral ground for the mutual enrichment of their minds. It is interesting to note the attitude to the matter of two countries: in a report on adult education published by the Ministry of Reconstruction in England in 1919, it was unanimously recommended that grants of money be given to propagandist bodies for legitimate educational

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work carried out under their auspices. In Sweden, the government allows grants for study circles, a distinctive feature of adult education in that country, to bodies which embrace "reformist, as well as regular trade-unionist and also communist and socialist parties."

The other tendency arises from the confusion between knowledge achieved for a definite, predetermined, vocational or professional purpose and that which is achieved in response to the natural hunger of the mind. Vocational education is to be highly prized and developed unceasingly, but it seldom meets all the needs of the individual. In fact, never. Both the scholar and the manual worker need other activities than those of daily tasks, if they are to be men of balance. It may be that the scholar needs manual work, and the manual worker scholarship. The opportunity enters into few professions or crafts to develop music, poetry, the drama or gymnastic, only to mention a few examples of the material of adult education, which, as we have seen, is all the legitimate material of all the world.

A great opportunity is unfolded by the greater allowance of leisure to many workers. In recent memory, a twelve-hour day for workmen has become in many places an eight-hour day. It may even become less. Thus the man at uncongenial work, as so many must be, in an age of machines and mass production, is provided with an opportunity in out-of-work hours to make his own contribution to the rhythm of life, by creating sounds, molding material, arranging colors, or developing understanding, just as his heart dictates. The test of an educated man is most rightly applied in that time which he calls his own, when the only rule he acknowledges is the unalterable law of life.

The economic power of Denmark was recreated in the nineteenth century by men and women who, true to the teaching of Grundtwig, exercised themselves in the "living word," delighted in the stories of their heroes, and sang the songs of their race. Czechoslovakia achieved independence in a time of fateful opportunity, because gymnastic and music had welded her people into unity.

England is facing the new times in a confident spirit, though troubled within and without, because so many of her workmen have studied persistently, without hope of material profit, the history, philosophy, and literature, cosmopolitan though it be, of the nation, and in so studying have enriched the minds and widened the outlook of many university teachers by profession, but fellow students in reality.

Japan is full of hope. "Each district and town where adult education has taken root, and each private association is carrying on the work in its own characteristic way, and, to judge by the fine spirit which animates them all, the adult-education movement in Japan will soon be able to make a definite contribution to the cultural life of the world."

China has set herself definitely to develop the power among her people of reading and writing the Chinese language. Pamphlets were prepared containing approximately 1,000 of the most often used characters, which were comparatively easy for ordinary people to learn. The intention of the pamphlets was: (1) to impart the right spirit of citizenship to the people of a republic; (2) to train the learners how to write letters, accounts and other practical themes; (3) to cultivate interest in reading and fundamental equipment for further desirable education. So far, this indicates that a great country is responding to the general determination to develop literacy. A National Association for Adult Education is being formed, and various methods are adopted to stimulate desire.

ALBERT MANSBRIDGE.

Adult Education in Germany

Free Folk-Education

IN Germany we include all efforts to increase the knowledge of adults and raise their educational and cultural level which are independent of the State, under the one term, free folk-education. Besides the folk-stage and library, the folk high-school is the chief branch of free folk-educational work.

Burdened by an ancient history, torn by sharp social contrasts, divided into many religious and political factions, our people necessarily had to produce, in place of a unified educational goal suitable for all folk-educational work, a number of aims and ideas which folk-education must serve.

Since many educational institutions had the reputation of being conciliatory and missionary societies, it is easily understandable that the *socialist* labor and white-collar organizations were anxious to establish their own educational institutions, in order to educate their members from their own class, for their own class. Recognizing that "knowledge is power," they naturally wanted to provide the workers first and foremost with the material, and the training of thought processes, which they need in their difficult struggles for social improvement. However, since a socialist working-youth movement has deepened the socialist feeling of the youth, arousing in it for the first time a sense for all national and cultural values regardless of class distinctions, and

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has awakened a strong impulse toward a higher humanity, this folk-education, with socialist-proletarian leanings, has gained much in value and depth, even though its new goal, to prepare its own socialist culture, is certainly utopian. The work is carried on by certain committees of the political parties and trade unions and also by free-lance organizations and youth associations.

In sharp contrast to this is the folk-education with nationalist bias. Its educational goal is simply the German, and the unified, self-conscious, national folk-community. For this reason it is concerned chiefly with national history, knowledge of things German, the world of the home, and such subjects. Special types of the national folk-education are the border schools in Nordschleswig, Ostpreussen, Boehmen and Steiermark, and the peasant high schools which combine the nationalist principle with a special emphasis on country life and peasant ideals.

Next is the religious folk-educational work. Like the nationalist in many respects, it concerns itself primarily with the peasants. The Christian German peasant high school is the common goal which has been borrowed from the Danish public school work of the last century. Another group of evangelical tendency, similar to settlement work, the Quakers and the youth movement, emphasizes on the contrary the pacifist and social fundamentals of Christianity, wanting to put them into practice in the community and in its educational activities, and devotes itself especially to laborers. The Catholic work is naturally quite unified, and consequently is under the close observation and leadership of the Church. It devotes itself to all classes alike, and fosters the cause and furtherance of positive Catholic attitudes and beliefs and of the Catholic-social idea of a just social order.

Outside of all these philosophical groups is the so-called neutral folk-education, which wants to see freedom of ideas guaranteed. According to it, the folk high-school should be a free "tribunal of the mind," a place for discussion and coöperative work for all classes and opinions, because in this way alone can the goal of the folk-community be realized. Neutrality does not mean, in this case, having no opinion, but not to be willing to become converted out of respect for the dignity of certain men, out of a feeling of righteousness. Folk-education should be accompanied by an atmosphere of intellectual freedom which considers and maintains only in general the values of personality, community, of culture and of intellect as the bases of any possible true educational work; on the other hand, it discusses freely world conceptions, community attitudes and the meaning of life. The educational goal is not to turn out a definite type of man, as the philosophic groups try to do, but simply man as he is, the individual, characterful personality. Folk-education should train and strengthen just the forces in man which make him capable of deciding freely and for himself all the great questions of political and economic life, of religion and philosophy; it should make him over from a running-mate to a sharer of burdens. It should also educate men to respect and listen to others' opinions in so far as they are founded in and are an expression of the great social organism.

Those who lead these neutral groups are primarily pure pedagogues. They demand, so to speak, "pedagogical autonomy," do not at all want to orient folk-education toward a concrete educational goal, an "idea," but only on the concrete educational situation, on the acute educational need which is different for each sociological group. They want to lead, merely by helping, only men who are innerly strong. By awakening and fostering the social ethos in men, they want to educate people to be able to participate in a folk-community. They do not want to think of theses and antitheses to an end, but come to syntheses.

Common to all healthy folk-educational work, no matter of what tendency or idea, is the recognition that it cannot be the task of folk-education to raise man socially and materially, to educate him for another, higher status, but to perfect him as a *man* on the sociological plane upon which he stands. The ultimate goal is the people, once again spiritually and socially healthy, although each folk-educational group has a different conception as to what would perfect man and make society healthy.

In what forms, then, does free folk-educational work develop, no matter which idea it serves in individual cases?

Some forms of folk high-school work are in their essence about fifty years old. For instance, the so-called folk-academies, where university professors hold evening lectures in their special scientific fields before a public, constituted for the most part of the cultured bourgeois. To these belongs the School of Wisdom in Darmstadt which Count Keyserling founded some years ago, but which is limited exclusively to the consideration of philosophical-religious problems by a circle of highly educated scientists. Another more simple form is the lecture-bureau organizations which aim to bring, through "popular" lectures, the results of science in simplified form to a wide audience made up of the classes of less advantage. These associations were and are centralized primarily in large folk-education organizations and societies which advise the associations in their activities, support them and provide them to the greatest possible extent with educational materials in the form of speeches, lecture materials (books, blackboards, etc.), stereopticon pictures, instructive and cultural films, etc. Besides the lecture work, the same central associations carry on an extensive library system, helping in the establishment of small libraries, equipping traveling libraries, arranging for reading rooms and like enterprises, as well as encouraging folk art and the stage through founding traveling theaters and exhibitions of high artistic standard, the organization of museum and

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theater visits for the country and village people, the distribution of concerts and guest-opera performances, putting on festivals and pageants, fostering the amateur theater and people's choruses, and other means. They are further concerned with spreading abroad good reading material, distributing good books for young people, providing the provincial newspapers with valuable material for their cultural supplements, which are often very deficient, arranging for radio lectures, seeking through folk-educational days to interest and train the widest possible circle of officials and teachers for the above tasks, and carrying on a number of other similar organizational and inspirational activities.

Today all this is termed rather reproachfully the "old" tendency. Its extensive and mechanical manner of work is typical. It seeks "to give as much as possible of something," wants to broaden the general horizon of the people by providing them with a mass of educational opportunities.

Now, in contrast to this, the "new" tendency is developing. It at once placed folk-education in the center of general interest, and awakened utopian hopes as to the possibilities of fulfillment. It has become clear that folk-education signifies not only education *of* the people, but also education *to be* the people. Such education to be the people presupposes, however, that the educational groups focus their attention upon the fields which the old-line education sought anxiously to avoid, namely, the open questions of personal philosophical viewpoints and attitudes toward life, as well as problems of the economic and political order. In this way it has come about that the youth movement and the radical pedagogical renaissance movement now exercise a deep influence upon the folk-educational movement. Its fundamental recognition that to hand out and heap up knowledge is not the aim, but rather to form character and men, and in addition, that the educational influence of the personality and a real group life is indispensable, was taken over by folk-education, and constitutes the basis for the new methods. For the mechanical principle of the lecture, the working group is substituted—the small group of ten to thirty-five people, who, under the leadership of a teacher, work through problems in a continual interplay of question and answer, of discussion and report, keeping close to experience. Here the passive auditor becomes an active participator, his powers of thought and judgment become fluid and instructive collaborators; from the cool lecturer emerges the lively leader, who, *primus inter pares,* must throw himself into fruitful action.

The guiding idea here is intensity; rather educate some few to complete and rich (spiritually, not materially rich) men, and then let them act as catalytics among the mass of the people, than, through a superficial broadening of the horizon, include many but in reality only spread abroad a dangerous illusion of education, a half-education and a miseducation.

The first functioning form of the new movement was the municipal evening folk high-schools. According to the size of the city, these offered curricula of varying inclusiveness; for the most part, consisting of working groups in all essential subjects, which met for two hours one evening a week. Among the entire body of students, the choices of courses were approximately as follows: 30-35 percent of the working groups were in the theory of philosophy, social philosophy, religion, psychology and pedagogy; 25-30 percent in languages, literature, art and music; 15-20 percent in history, geography and natural sciences; 15 percent in sociology, politics, economics and law; 5-10 percent in women's questions, the home and the family.

Most of the working groups meet during only one or two semesters. Recently, for courses in special fields, it has been attempted to form working groups which would continue for several years. With the exception of the director of the school, the teaching force is part-time, consisting of teachers, officials, editors, authors, and artists, also university professors, students, trade-union secretaries and others. Through certain divisions of the universities and a special "school for folk-research and adult education," the training of suitable young teachers for these difficult tasks has been tried.

Especially in the small cities, technical courses (foreign languages, arithmetic, stenography, etc.) are given outside the working groups, although there is a strong current in favor of forcing all this "purposive education" out of the folk high-school, especially all courses for rhythmic gymnastics, groups for folk-dancing, folk-songs, practice in speaking, etc. In general assemblies at the time of school openings, Christmas and other festivals, by means of lectures and the discussion of acute questions, trips, excursions and summer camps, it is sought to coalesce the student body into a real community.

In the first naïve years after the Revolution, some 2,000 of such municipal folk high-schools sprang up in Germany, of which only between one-fifth and one-sixth have continued. The great majority are "neutral," but there are also some "nationalist," socialist, and religious. As people perceived that to get a man into a working group for twenty or thirty evenings in the year to study some special problem did not mean intensive folk-education and that, because of the lack of teachers, it was almost impossible to found such evening schools in the country, a new and especially valuable form of work soon developed in the so-called resident folk high-schools. Devoting themselves to a carefully chosen group between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, the teachers try to give them, in a course which lasts from three to six months, a rounded picture of the world, clarify their problems and strengthen their whole personality; thus enable them to be leaders of their class. The content of the courses differs widely according to the tendency of the school, the idea with which it is directed. In order really to meet the

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true needs of youth, the curriculum in some neutral schools is sometimes made up on the basis of the questions which students indicate as interesting and pressing. Not only for their minds but also for their characters, the common life which the students enjoy in the school is just as important as the instruction; therefore working together they often perform the chores of the school. In Germany today there are about sixty such residential schools, with between thirty and forty students each, the majority of which are Christian and nationalist and arranged for young peasants.

Having been entirely detached from his occupation, daily routine and urban environment while in the residential school, the worker especially suffered great conflicts when he returned home to his family and job. He could not immediately re-orient himself in the narrow confines of the real world, in the misery of his class, and he did not become a leader, as had been expected. In order to avoid this danger, the municipal folk residential high-schools, developed principally by the Leipzig folk-education office, were founded. A simple urban four- to six-room house is rented, and eight to ten young laborers move in for ten months, with one and often two young teachers; continuing their work, they manage the household from their income and in a democratic way. Often the weary strife with everyday events and their many crises is of tremendous pedagogical value, providing the students with profound insight into social fundamentals. On two to four evenings of the week, instruction is given in politics, economics and cultural subjects; one evening is open for the friends of the school to come in for discussions or parties; on Sunday, excursions are generally made. The value of these schools lies in the fact that the leader, through the everyday intimate intercourse and the many-sided conversations which naturally result, can exercise a unique *personal* influence on the young men, and the gap between school and life, theory and reality, which is the danger of every isolated and isolating school, cannot occur.

Since 1918, Germany has been a democratic republic. This means that upon the lower classes, and particularly upon the working class, many public and political tasks have devolved. Also the efforts for economic democracy, as they are expressed in the right of labor to choose trade councils, and to take part in the administration of social insurance, labor jurisdiction and other activities, bring in their train many difficult demands upon the laborers. For all these, trained leaders are needed who possess a clear perception of the matter-of-fact world and the connections between the economic and political orders, who understand how to distinguish air castles from realities, and have a feeling of responsibility toward the whole community. Among a number of institutions established recently for this practical schooling for labor leaders, there are, first, the business and trade-council schools. A group of thirty to sixty workers attend a systematic course carried on by means of working groups, in economics, trade, labor law and social policies, for two or three years, meeting two or three evenings weekly. As the workers retain their positions, no estrangement from their comrades and occupations can occur, and the pauses between the evenings of instruction prevent a factual overburdening of minds unused to intellectual work. Of such schools there are today about thirty, principally in Saxony and Thueringen; but it is to be assumed that every large industrial town will soon have them.

The so-called technical schools for business and administration in Duesseldorf and Berlin work more intensively, but on a narrower basis. A correspondence course of one year makes possible a discriminating choice of those to be accepted as students. In an academic course of one, recently also two years, a fundamental knowledge of the economic and political orders, both as to simple fact, and theory and policy, is provided and made concrete through observation and trips.

The Frankfurt Academy of Labor crowns all these institutions. In a nine-month course of approximately 900 working hours, a group of about sixty of the best qualified labor leaders receive a splendid training in the fundamental questions of economic, social and labor theories, law, politics and philosophy. Academic lectures alternate with the conferences of the working groups, in which the material of the lectures is discussed, and seminars, in which individual scientific work is done.

All these last-named institutions are possible only because the trade unions support them extensively, and, above all, provide their leaders with the financial means for attendance.

The movement is still in process, in the course of developing. The definite forms are not yet set, and new patterns are being woven, for the tasks of folk-education are almost infinite.

GUENTER KEISER.

The Library's Function

THE adult education of any nation stands in the closest internal and external relationship with its total intellectual, cultural and socio-economic structure. An understanding of the place of the library in the adult education of Germany is possible, therefore, only if one keeps in mind the following determining factors in the general development of the country:

Of primary importance and influencing all conditions of German life during the past three decades, is the transformation of Germany into an industrial state. The change, of course, began almost a century ago in scattered places; now it encompasses the whole of German life, and the result is to be seen not merely in industry itself, in techniques, business and in trade, but in the intellectual and cultural spheres; especially has the change been thorough-going in the

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area of political life; the final transformation of Germany into a republic marks a further step in the democratization of public life, business, government and political parties.

Like most European countries, Germany has roots deeply embedded in a culture which began two thousand years ago. Even today this heritage from the past exerts a strong influence upon the intellectual-cultural life of the nation; its science, its educational system—even its adult education—are derived from institutions, undertakings, and organizations which can in part look back upon hundreds of years of history; the universities, elementary and high schools, libraries, archives and museums are all institutions which reach back at least as far as the sixteenth century. Also, individual cities, churches, private groups and associations, and in earlier times the nobles, supplemented the State in the various fields of culture-building. Each of the smaller states started its own enterprises, and the number of institutions is therefore very large. In adult education and in the libraries we find, consequently, a manifold variety of intellectual character and origin; sharply accentuated differences of both internal and external nature are to be observed in both these areas. Indeed, different worlds and times exist side by side in modern Germany, and often in the same locality.

I

The public library, as it developed and spread in England and America, has been known in Germany for only three decades. Those which existed previously were primarily the great scientific libraries of the universities, nobles, provinces and cities: large collections of books, valuable manuscripts, first editions and documents. But these libraries were only for the investigator and the scholar, who jealously guarded their prerogatives and prevented the uninitiated from access to these treasures. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to be sure, conditions of use were partially modified in a really liberal manner, but this did not change the fact that these libraries were not available to the great mass of the people, to those from all strata of society who were eager to learn; the very arrangement of the books, administrative difficulties, the places they occupied, and, above all, the personnel, were forbidding. These libraries were to serve science and men who devoted themselves to the scientific discipline. This function has determined their whole structure during their long and in part glorious past. The new library is of an entirely different character; it is a part of that adult education which is designed to serve those who are engaged in practical work—workers, clerks, teachers, artists, doctors, lawyers.

The public library was first recognized as a part of the task of public instruction in Germany at the turn of the century. A number of progressive men in conjunction with various organizations urged the founding of new libraries. Alert cities, especially in the north and west of Germany, set about establishing public libraries which were fundamentally different from the older scientific libraries. Their idea was to give the public access to all books. The changing social conditions were to be taken account of in a liberal, democratic manner. As in other fields, much was promised as a result of a popularization of science. The knowledge of scientific investigations, explained briefly, excluding the difficult preparatory stages and avoiding technical terminology, was to be brought to men of all classes. It was hoped that with the increase of knowledge, social progress would be furthered and the solution of social, political and philosophical problems and difficulties, which were at that time pressing, would be facilitated. It was also expected that these new libraries would, by extending their function through courses of lectures—a method of education then at its height—lead the universities into new forms of enlightenment and scientific interpretation.

But these libraries soon had to fight internal and external difficulties. Perhaps they developed too rapidly at the start; also their resources were inadequate for a long period. But the main reason for their static condition, even retrogression, lay in the lack of an exact knowledge of the principles and methods of public libraries. Even if at that time details concerning the American and English libraries had been known, still the real task would have been to develop, out of the peculiar German conditions, the forms and methods which are suitable for German readers and German literature, and to continue, broaden or improve the educational and cultural work which was already being carried on elsewhere. After some initial success, it was seen that the new libraries possessed, besides many valuable books, a shockingly high percentage of those not of a high level—sensational stories, sentimental trash, without real worth for true education. Also, in spite of great efforts, the widespread popularization of science was not as successful as had been expected. These libraries were often more like reading institutions than educational organizations.

Then among the public librarians and educationists, a strong current became noticeable which demanded radical reconsideration of methods and, above all, sought a pedagogical and psychological foundation for library work. This movement, which was not limited to the libraries but permeated the whole of adult education, folk high-schools, educational settlements, prison education, even the elementary schools, etc., more and more strongly, has been a guide to the public-library system since 1910. This new conception of library work has been represented since 1913 chiefly by the German Central Office for Public Library Interests at Leipzig, which was brought into being by Walter Hofmann, Director of the Leipzig Library, and his friends. Today Hofmann's ideas and methods, which we shall discuss later, are widespread among public libraries, and it is sought to organize the libraries upon a bet-

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ter pedagogical basis. But much still remains to be done, and few libraries have not only a good organization and equipment, but also a carefully selected collection of valuable and suitable books, as well as numerous, specially trained librarians. Yet, especially since the Revolution, a much greater interest is observable in the country districts, in cities and among the public generally in the libraries. The public librarians, separated since 1922 from the scientific librarians, have united into their own organization—Union of German Public Librarians—and hope that in the next decade they can solve the difficult and tremendous tasks which are yet before them. Before the special questions of the German libraries are considered, we want to explain briefly how the individual states, provincial centers and private organizations function in the system.

II

According to an agreement with the provinces, the nation itself does not, with few exceptions, take part in the library work; but the individual states, especially Preussen, Sachsen, Wuerttemberg, Thueringen, Braunschweig, have created within their ministries for science, art and folk-education, special centers to which the interests of the libraries are entrusted. These centers are concerned primarily with supporting the libraries in the country districts, villages and small cities. For this purpose, especially in the last few years, so-called advisory centers for certain smaller districts have been established, to help create well arranged and effective libraries in the country. To be sure, in all parts of Germany thousands of public libraries have existed for a long time, but they are antiquated and no longer adequate. Now, generally speaking, new ones are being founded. We are trying primarily to find the proper books for the country people, and for the administration of the libraries, which is part-time, to secure and train suitable men—teachers, pastors, community and social-work leaders. At the same time, through a special system of support and exchange of books, we are beginning to bring a number of small libraries in the villages into contact with a large urban library. In some localities, the circulating library is made possible by means of automobiles. The improvement and extension of the advisory centers seem especially important and pressing.

Most of the urban public libraries are organized by the cities, and are wholly maintained from municipal resources, the amount varying greatly. Even the great and increasing interest of the cities and the public in a better collection of books cannot overcome the tremendous economic and financial difficulties and burdens under which Germany is now suffering. Young and weak, the library movement particularly was hurt by war and inflation. Therefore the traveler notices the lack of library buildings with adequate equipment, the very shabby state of the books, and the expert also observes especially the small number of official librarians.

In order more effectively to represent the affairs of the public libraries to the community and in the state and provincial centers, a number of associations have been formed, foremost among them the abovementioned Union of German Public Librarians. The German Central Office for Public Library Interests, to which special attention is called here, has arranged special Laboratory and Practice Divisions for each branch of library science. At present it supports the German Public Library School (for training head librarians); the Division of Instruction (educational course for assistant librarians); Advisory Division; Division for Technical Literature; Division of German Folk Bibliography; Division for Technical Library Needs; Central Book Bindery; Wholesale Warehouse with stock for public libraries. As a result of its central importance, this organization is used by a number of governments, cities and many libraries as the technical center for library interests, in the building up of libraries, the changing of existing libraries, the arrangement of advisory centers, etc.

III

A consideration of library interests in Germany would not be complete if the fields of work and the questions with which the technical world of public librarians have occupied themselves intensively in the last years were not at least named. For that which, as a matter of fact, exists at the moment in Germany, may seem, to many, needy and insignificant in view of the luxurious and numerous libraries, of the more widespread and better coördinated organization and of the greater means at their disposal in other countries. And yet we German librarians have gained knowledge and evolved methods which are not only fundamental for our work, but which can be inspiring and interesting to other countries.

Already, at the beginning of the German library movement, the leaders pointed out that a careful selection and a discriminating distribution of books would be determining factors for the development of the libraries; but in practice these points of view were overlooked or ignored. Therefore it needed the energetic efforts of Walter Hofmann, who since about 1909 had severely criticized the methods which had been used theretofore in choosing and distributing books, to bring the public librarians to a serious consideration of what was necessary. Since then, discussion has not ceased, and the solution of these problems has given the movement its peculiar stamp. Walter Hofmann's theses are as follows:

1. The public library should add only the really valuable book to its collection. Trash and the merely sensational are to be kept out of the public library.

2. But the valuable, true literature must really correspond to the interests, inclinations, needs, capacities of the readers. Otherwise it will not be read. The librarian very often makes the mistake of work-

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ing from his own personal tastes or from the opinions of literary professors. But he must study his readers and their peculiarities, recognize the direction of their inclinations. For only the true and living (Walter Hofmann uses the term *erlebensnahe*) writing is effective educationally. From the mass of old and new writings, the public library must very carefully seek out the books which meet these standards.

3. The public library exists not only for a certain group of the people (as do the scientific libraries), but for different classes and circles. Now there is a great difference between the reading needs of the young and adults, men and women, laborers, clerks, teachers, physicians, flappers and collegians. Therefore the library must try to understand psychologically and sociologically all the various tastes, needs and capacities of these groups, in order to find exactly the books for the individual groups, which are interesting for it alone, and, because, according to Mr. Hofmann, the library should have only valuable books, are also cultural.

In order better to carry on these studies, Mr. Hofmann and his friends have introduced into their libraries a very practical statistical method, on the basis of which they can determine what each individual reads in the library[1]; thereby they can judge what the group he represents prefers as well as learn to know his *individual* interests. From these preferences they deduce the *typical* interests of the different circles of readers. Between 1909 and 1913, Mr. Hofmann published the "Psychologie des Proletariats," in which he carefully examined the reading interests of many hundred workers, and a short time ago an Institute *für Leser und Schriftumskunde,* directed by him, was founded under the German Central Office for Public Library Interests, to study these questions further. In a comprehensive way this institute will examine the relations between reader and book—not only working out a series of reader types, but studying also all literature according to its characteristic psychological attributes. In this way, the German public library seeks a very fundamental psychological-sociological basis for its work, because it believes that, without this, its activity will be only the mechanical distribution of books.

But for the psychological-sociological foundation, a strong pedagogical motive enters as a second characteristic; this is active in library work, as in all adult education, and opposes the mechanically organized mass distribution of educational material, furthering in its stead an individual, personal pedagogical work. The user of the public library is not trained from the beginning in the use of books; he does not know books. Therefore the library must help him to find the right book; it must recognize his wishes and tastes, and, starting with these, give him advice and information—in brief, come into personal friendly contact with him. The organization of the library must be such that this is workable even with many thousands of readers. With these goals in mind, the German public libraries have created for themselves new forms of administrative organization and arrangements for lending adapted to this task. Unfortunately we cannot describe them at length here. But the public library has, besides an individual lending service,[2] a further very important pedagogical means. This is the catalogues for the reader, not made according to the old principles, suited to science and its system. Many librarians have since followed Hofmann in his demand for this new form of catalogue, the basis of which was laid by his investigations as to the directions of interest of different reading groups. Therefore, for example, besides the catalogues for certain fields, there are also catalogues for the laborer, for women, for youths, which contain notes important only for the group concerned, written in an understandable and interesting manner, with comments on the individual books.[3]

Yet, in spite of everything, the public library would remain a dead machine if the relations between the books and the readers were not made individually through active personalities trained in psychology and pedagogy. Therefore the German public libraries envisage their central task for the future as the finding and training of librarians capable pedagogically and with social vision. In their opinion it is not a question of the recruits who bring to the organization the necessary skill and knowledge, but of persons experienced in life and with a readiness to help people learn, combined with a personal relationship to the intrinsic values in books. In this, the fundamental difference between the tasks of the scientific and the public libraries is expressed anew. If it is the task of the scientific libraries to prepare the working material for scientists, then the public libraries want to serve the educational efforts of all people, in so far as they are in the field of literature. The scientific library serves science and thereby only a special group of exceptionally capable and well prepared people; the public libraries are for everybody. If the public library is so to fulfill this extensive, comprehensive task of the present and future of people, of humanity, that its users are treated as men and not as numbers, then it will need the above-mentioned psychological-pedagogical basis and goal, and not least of all also freedom and independence for a full development of individuality.

HANS HOFMANN.

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1 The reader must fetch and return his books in person.

EDITOR'S NOTE: A word as to the relation between the number of proletarian and bourgeois users may be of interest. "In 1926, of the 19,321 readers, 8,591, that is, less than 45 percent, were of the proletariat. And in no year has the number of the proletarian readers exceeded that of the bourgeois."

2 Each reader keeps his own register, that is, writes his comments on the books read, and thus the library can follow the development of his tastes and have a fair basis for judging what to recommend.

3 Books are not catalogued alphabetically in their entirety, but by sections descriptively, so that a reader may easily find that part of a book which is of particular interest to him.

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Between the Dark and the Ivory Tower

LIKE all life's millinery, education has its fashions and its fashion-makers. Fashions, as is well known to the cloak and suit business, to the hatters and the shoe merchants, are the life of trade. Fashions provide those tangent forces that strike the otherwise steady wheel of business in necessities and bring about those quick turn-overs upon which profits thrive. The true captains of modern industry are the fashion-makers. Theirs is the initiative, the invention and the *risqué*. They are the *croupiers* at fortune's wheels, no matter who the winner or who the loser is.

In public education, the fashion-makers are the educators. This is especially true in adult education, which is somehow voluntary, while the education of children is imposed on them. The educators of adults are functionaries in an institution of our society relatively recent in origin and still ambiguous in status. It is their task so to intrigue a reluctant public as to keep the wheels of their business turning in homes and colleges and chautauquas and lyceums, in correspondence schools and Sunday schools, in women's clubs, and fraternal meetings, in theological institutes and socialist seminaries. Like the functionaries of the press, the educators of adults feel the urge to "sell" education to the largest possible body of customers; you shall see university extension cheek by jowl with Pelmanism whenever you choose to look: but unlike the functionaries of the press, they of education fall, broadly speaking, into three classes. In the first are all those educators whose passion is to give the public what it wants. In the second are those whose sole wish is to give the public what it ought to have. In the third is that safe company who aspire to win the public to taking what it ought to have by giving it what it wants.

No one, I presume—though some alien good thinker might—will hold it a paradox that the first class should be the largest, the richest, the most powerful of them who go down to adults with education. It embraces the three hundred-odd correspondence schools with their millions of pupils; the university extensions—by voice and by letter—with their hundreds of thousands; the various private lecture bureaus, lyceums and institutes with their tens of thousands. The correspondence schools are to adult education what the tabloid is to the press: the others are what analogy automatically implies. What the public wants is specified in what this group as a whole has sold it. Of the courses taken, some 40 percent are technical; 40, more or less, are clerical; 15 purport to teach some quality of person, or excellence of character—like the power to impose on the boss, or the ability to recall Mr. Sims of Seattle; or sales charm, or sex magnetism. Some 5 percent are courses of cultural import. The public pays—in advance—more than seventy millions of dollars each year for these little things that it wants of education, but seems not to want that little long. Each year, pupils drop away like autumn leaves with each distracting wind.

The lovers of their kind who wish for the public what it ought to have, are more generous than numerous. Theirs is the missionary spirit. They bring salvation which, as is well known, is without price and is to be had only for the taking—unasked more often than asked, and regardless of subsequent costs to the taker. Instruction comes free, in the shape of lectures and otherwise, on occultism, patriotism, Christian Science, Mormonism, pacifism, Ku Kluxism, socialism, anarchism, single tax, atheism; and all the other evangels traditional, resurgent or new, whereby happiness and freedom and safety shall be established forever—at least for the several apostles of these salvations. These educators inhabit the fringe of the nation's educational economy. They are its tramps and casuals, whose importance varies with the weather of prosperity, and the strength of the winds of doctrine swept up by sundry fears and hungers and needs that animate patriotic societies, religious cults and reform or political parties. Sometimes the education these provide is mistaken for propaganda. The mistake, the educators assure us, does them a great wrong.

Also lovers of their kind are the members of the third class. They, too, wish for the public only what it ought to have. They too, are fuel bringers, holders aloft of the light of salvation. But they have gathered wisdom from the times. It is not, they have discovered, that the public love salvation less, but that they love getting on in the world more. From this discovery they have educed a rule to guide them, namely: the public will receive what it ought to have, once it has had what it wants. So they serve the public what it wants—generally at a lower price than that extracted by the frank merchandisers of adult education, licensed or unlicensed; often below cost; but at a price, lest what they provide go unprized altogether. And upon their spread table, amid the things the public wants they set, not too cunningly, the things the public ought to want, and—watch and wait. Among the institutions where educational establishments are

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engaged in these subtle practices are the Young Men's and Young Women's Associations, Christian and Hebrew; the Knights of Columbus, the churchly social centers, the houses of Americanization and the like. They all hope, by teaching boys how to keep accounts and girls how to make themselves pretty, to persuade them also to love Jewish culture, or the Christian God; the American Constitution or the Catholic hierarchy; even the other humanities, or whatever other precious repertory of the virtues whence are healing and salvation.

But the people, so the statisticians tell us, are a wicked and stiff-necked people, not to be persuaded. What they ought to want leaves their appetites unstirred. And they are a weak-minded people, so many take what they want, so few keep it. Indeed, very far from a majority of the customers of those who sell adult education complete the courses they begin; so few, in fact, as to make the inference inevitable that the people have only been persuaded into believing that they want what they buy, but do not really want it; that they are the suggestible victims of the educational fashion-maker, his slogans, his causes. The fashion-maker offers to vague impulses specific ends; he harnesses a general unrest up in a pattern of purposive activity; he drains a feeling of insecurity and anxiety in a projected image of fulfilled desire. Above all, he creates manifold avatars of the glass of fashion and mold of form of the times.

Each age and place has its glass of fashion, and mold of form. The Judean Bible man had his just man walking humbly with the Lord; the classic Greek, his man of the magnanimous mind, rich and proud and free. The Roman citizen had his patriotic procurator, doing his duty by himself and his emperor. The Dark Ages adored their monastics living securely and not too ascetically among their fellow monks. To the Middle Ages the avatar was the well born knight, doing his devoir by his lord and his lady as well. The Renaissance aspired to the courtier and gentleman adventurer, amassing fortune and learning in strange terrestrial and intellectual parts. The eighteenth century saw perfection in the fashionable wit, with his wide indulgences and sharp common sense that shattered every sham. The early Georgian loved the natural man with his natural rights; lo, the poor Indian, all his ideal was—from the Americas—living in peace and plenty among his peers. The sons of the early Georgian saw high excellence in the untrammeled trader, struggling, adventuring, under the rule of *laissez faire*. And in each age, education, not knowing why or how, labored to mold men in the image of the current lord. . . .

For our own time, this glass of fashion and mold of form is the Successful Business Man, amassing wealth. Pedestaled exemplar of all that is mighty and free and safe amid the banks and factories of our machine-driven world, the Successful Business Man has become the ideal personality which every youth setting out in life aspires to develop into; every man, tired in the middle of his road, contemplates with envy and despair; the form of present godhead, the ultimate incarnation of protean Christ, whom until this moment of course nobody knew. How then shall our educators serve us, if it be not to teach us our heart's desire, and make of us Successful Business Men? And this they promise—whether by means of Graduate Schools of Business Administration in the Sacred Groves of Academe or not even undergraduate correspondence courses from the sullen cells of a La Salle Street office building—each in his fashion.

This they promise, and this they might accomplish were only the heart convinced of its own desire, the spirit submissive to the informing image, the mind reverent before its wished-for shape. Alas, they are not. Too often, where the spirit is willing, the head is weak; too oftener, where the head is able, the spirit revolts. And the heart is not clear. Other desires as well inhabit it, and stir; and fatigue can be stronger than any desire; the easy, if vicarious, attainment of the motion picture overcame the all too strainful labor with lessons at a desk. Hence disillusion delays not, and weariness follows, and fret. The god that one might become turns into the power that one must placate. In the heart arise echoes—the dim marching feet of other gods that might be its desire—sure bosoms of might and freedom and security.

Because our impulses are too many, and unreconciled, our hearts are without clearness, our minds can hold no vision long; no god can live unchallenged in our allegiance. And in this lies the effective hope of adult education. For, held all our lives in a narrow orbit by the economy of circumstance and the inertia of habit, our gods are to us rather ideals imposed than excellences chosen; accepted and acquiesced in, not discerned and understood. Organized society schools us in its grammar of assent; on all sides we are pressed into conformation with the ruling type, until we think we have wished this conformity ourselves. Our minds become selective before our bodies grow up. Life and learning pass as a succession of fashions of the same substantial ideal, all variation and no real change. Thus, most Americans seem to have reached mental old age at the age of thirty. They reflect in stereotypes; they converse in slogans; their thinking is reiteration, and their action—consequently—violence. Their whole aspect is as of a somnambulism. Their restless life moves within the circle of an Ivory Tower which themselves have built, where the dream of the Successful Business Man provokes the troubled education that shall make him real, and the education confirms the dream.

This role for education is not new. To confirm, to reproduce the current ideal; to bulwark, to sanctify the current establishments of society, has in the long run always been the aim of the educator and

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the educational establishment. They have served as instruments of conformation and submission, to whatever power has set up its rule in their times, justifying, glorifying, finally deifying. Each age, they have served as keepers of the Ivory Tower, where minds grow old before bodies grow up.

There is, however, another, and untraditional role for education, and its functionaries. It is a role that lies beyond the power of great establishments precisely because they are great establishments. Bigness is its enemy; complexity is its enemy; elaborateness, organization, are its enemies. It requires only that degree of establishment which shall enable and facilitate the coming together of companies of men and women for education; the simplest of administrations. It requires plasticity, disinterestedness and good will. In this role education is co-terminous with life, the continuous commentary upon it, like the Education of Henry Adams, in whose biography every new experience was a deepening of vision to the mind, every vision a fresh adventure to the heart. In this role education would cease to be an incident of schooling and schooling become an episode in education. Adult education, as Everett Martin writes, in that wise book, "The Meaning of a Liberal Education," would be "something which will broaden the interests and sympathies of people regardless of their daily occupation—or along with it—to lift men's thought out of the monotony and drudgery which are their common lot, to free the mind from servitude and herd opinion, to train habits of judgment and of appreciation of value, to carry on the struggle for human excellence in our day and generation, to temper passion with wisdom, to dispel prejudice by better knowledge of self, to enlist all men . . . in the achievement of civilization." That is, instead of mental old age at thirty with its *clichés,* stereotypes and iterations, the mind would grow up as the body grows old, and physical senescence would mean only mental maturity.

The principles of such an education are simple. It acknowledges the reality of the chances and changes that compose our life and our knowledge. Hence it discards ultimates and finalities. In the place of authority it sets experiment. It abandons the grammar of assent for a technique of doubt. It seeks to establish openness and flexibility of mind and tolerance of otherness as a continuing habit. It conceives itself with method more than with matter, with the *how* rather than the *what* of living and doing. The past, in this new role of education, remains still its chief matter, to be reiterated and transmitted; but the transmission is a transformation also, such that the past is fitted into the technique of present endeavor after the uncharted and ever unchartable future, not the present into the past. Indeed, education, in this role, would not be a little occupied with the continuous revision of the past. Instead of keeping the Ivory Tower, it would guide the spirit over the Waste Land into the Dark Tower. Its morale is a socratic courage, not a soldier's nor a saint's. . . .

Education, so understood, can, however, be neither initiated nor facilitated by the fashion-makers of the present educational establishment. It is not that variation-without-change which fashion is. It is a change so radical that it requires a new stuff, and proclaims a new god; not a change of fashion, therefore, but a new style. It implies a new way of living, a new ideal of personality that must overthrow and shatter the godhead of the Successful Business Man and sit in his place. Sporadically, dangerously, here and there, the type appears, both as mutant personalities and educational endeavors. Will they survive and rule? I cannot say. We are at the beginnings only of the long, long way between the Ivory Tower of Dreams and the Dark Tower of Reality.

H. M. KALLEN.

Education and the Folk-ways

WHAT is an *adult?*

A chart of development is the best answer. The adult was once a new-born babe, with all the plasticity of the human infant. Various schools of psychology and biology contend today for the honor of being recognized as the official cartographer of his growth to maturity. We may pass by most of their contentions and stick to certain facts. The infant organism is exceedingly plastic. Its bones are pliable. The Flathead Indians used to flatten the skulls of their children by binding pieces of board to the soft foreheads of infants. The Chinese used to shape the feet of girls to fashionable patterns by somewhat similar methods. The human body can be formed, or deformed, to almost any desired pattern, if the formative process is begun early enough.

The infant's future mentality can be formed, or deformed, in much the same fashion. The community into which any child is born is a *congeries* of molds and patterns. We call them customs, institutions, vocations, creeds, characters, and the like; but they are molds and patterns, to the child. Infancy is very plastic, yielding easily to these patterns. Childhood is only slightly less so. Early youth is much less so. But adolescence is, once more, very impressionable. And maturity marks the probable passing of those early plasticities, and the "setting" of the patterns of experience—more or less irrevocably.

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During infancy, the child is much shaped to the patterns of the home, the family, the clan—to ancestral patterns that remain into the present. With the coming of school years, the child is poured into the molds of the street, the class-room, the playground, and the slowly widening community. For a little while, at puberty, he rebels at too much molding, and gets a bad name for his pains. But in youth he feels, and responds, more and more, to the shapings of the social *milieu,* the various institutions, the call of vocation, the cold eye of the policeman, the lure of the crowd, and various forms of adult persuasion. In early maturity he may yield himself completely to the final compulsions of a job, a creed, a party, a fashion; and by the time he is twenty-five he may have ceased to struggle: he may be fully shaped, docilely accepting the community's patterns as his own, and "settling down." He loses his plasticity, as the fluid concrete loses its plasticity when poured into the form. He, too, has been poured into his form, and when the community is completely assured that he has properly "set," he is accepted as a good citizen: he is an *adult!*

As Professor Charles H. Judd has stated, approvingly: "The individual nervous system is in this way taken over by society, and the modes of behavior exhibited by the individual become those which are determined by society's needs and modes of operations. Purely individual experiences and modes of reacting to impressions sink to a level of inferior importance. The individual becomes an embodiment of social tendencies." That is to say, *education* is just the process of transforming plastic infancy and childhood into the established patterns of the world. In the view of the most respectable part of the community, that education is most successful which makes further education unnecessary; and in the view of the most conservative part of the community, that education is most admirable which makes further education impossible. Educate an adult? A real adult is one who has no further use for education: he *is* educated!

We shall note, a little later, certain exceptions to the universality of the processes just described. But, in order that the general faithfulness of this picture to the current realities of the world may not be doubted, it seems advisable to examine some of these "community molds" more closely. A few of them may be passed in review.

This adult we are considering comes of a certain "race." In some cases, perhaps, in later life, he would gladly change his race, and he may seek to make new racial alignments. There are few "Americans" who feel that way. The more inescapably most of us feel the bonds of race, the more we "thank God" that we were born as we were.

He comes of a certain family. In some cases, maybe, he would gladly change his family connections, setting up new family traditions. But in all such cases he seeks not freedom for change, but a more substantial bulwark behind which he may defend himself against change.

He finds himself in a certain social position. In some cases, it is likely, he would prefer some other social level. If so, it is usually because he feels that on that other social level he would be more secure against the incidences of change.

He emerges into awareness as a member of a certain economic group. In the economic world he finds a considerable range of freedom for adventure, and he may, for a time, wander widely in search of goods, of which the most important is not always economic goods. In some cases, he escapes the molding influences of the industrial community, and learns to take life "easy." But the world, in general, frowns upon any such evasion of the standard patterns. Soon or late, he will likely be compelled to surrender and "accept responsibility" by becoming a part of the industrial order of the world. He must have some "visible means of support"—or be held a menace, or a failure.

In this connection, the conservative part of the community will do much to assist him to become entangled emotionally, and to make him feel that "marriage is the noblest estate of man," even though he hasn't the slightest suspicion as to what getting married will mean. But the community knows that, having thus "given hostages to fortune," he will be by that much the more compelled to stick to the conventional grooves of behavior. From of old, the adult community is determined to force all its young into molds that give "good form" to the member of the group, and marriage is one of the most binding of these molds. All the community is glad when a young person marries.

This adult is, even today, almost certain to find himself, long before he knows how he got there, in the toils of political partisanship, having been fed from infancy upon the legends of his own party's nobility and expansive patriotism and, at the same time, having learned the questionable character of the other leading party, and the treasonable nature of all minor parties. It will take him half a lifetime to extricate himself from the false emotions that the question-begging epithets of partisanship have meanly loaded upon him. Why wonder that so few men and women ever dream of escaping? The real wonder is that so many do escape.

He is almost certain to have been nourished from earliest childhood on some "eternal truth" that is the private possession of some fragmentary religious group, and to have had his human sympathies warped by a narrow sectarianism that is able to prove the truth of its doctrines by showing the unquestioning assurance of those who hold them. Life and eternity being in the issue, the molding power of religion is enormous. If this adult should ever think to change his religion, it would be be-

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cause he was offered something still more irrevocably "true"!

Finally, since the intellectual factors in the development of personality follow upon experience, the "mind" of this adult will be compacted of rationalizations of all these patterned aspects of his being. He will be able to justify the ways of God to men. He will be a *reasonable* man—in the sense set forth by Benjamin Franklin, when he said: "What's the use of being a reasonable creature, unless you can find reasons for doing what you are doing?" The traditional folk-ways and *mores* of the community will have been re-solidified in him, and it need surprise no one if, in the end, not a single faint memorial of his early plasticity remains to him. He may even become less capable of change than the community itself—as we shall see.

Looking at the results of our current education from this point of view, what are the prospects for "adult education": can the "adult" be educated, i. e., changed? It was the opinion of William James that, by and large, he would not change, or be changed; and, perhaps, that he could not change or be changed. But we know, and James knew, that there were many exceptions to that doctrine; and recent experiments have shown that the doctrine was never a "law of nature," but only a generalization from social results. I wish to call attention to three special types of exception to the finality of the picture of the "adult" set forth in the preceding pages.

In the first place, general education of the type described frequently turns out to be but a sort of skeletal framework, like the steel construction in a skyscraper. Large areas of personality may remain to be filled in. This is the situation in which most of us who are graduates of schools find ourselves today: we are "formed" but not "filled in." We lack "culture," or "vocational techniques," or "economic understanding," or something, many things of the sort. Hence, much of our current "adult education" concerns itself with filling in the "chinks" left in the earlier education of the child. Such education is often very useful, as the world goes, and against it there is little to be said, even though its necessity is the product of a wasteful earlier system, and even though its outcome may be merely the decorating of a framework that is already there.

In the second place, there always have been, are now, and, let us hope, always will be a considerable "scattering" of refractory children who have small capacity to conform to the moldings of the community, howsoever severely the community may energize its processes, and howsoever bitterly the individual may try to make himself a "good member." Nature is forever playing tricks on art. Every once in a while nature is too strong for the folk-ways. Enceladus, buried under Mount Etna for his blasphemies against the customs of his group, could not be kept quiet: he made the mountain shake every time he turned over, and he filled the whole countryside with his fiery breathings. There is not much "fun" in defying the gods, as Prometheus found out; but what is in the bones of a man will come out, probably, soon or late. These rebellious men and women have been in all ages the natural leaders of the race: the artists, the scientists before science was born, the reformers, the irreconcilable statesmen. No community pattern has much meaning for them: they educate themselves, mostly, in adventure and pain. And they have set the new patterns to the ages. Respectable members of the community have always been scandalized by them—and in some celebrated cases have done them to death. But the breed is likely to survive—and give the earth some excuse for turning over three hundred and sixty-five times in the year.

In the third place, this modern world, with all its shiftings of populations, and with its endless interminglings of races, peoples, families, social groups, cultures, moralities, creeds, parties and doctrines, can now scarcely find a spot where a single traditional folk-way order holds undisputed sway. Everywhere there is conflict of cultures, and competition of systems for the adherence of the individual. Certainly, in no area of the western world can any community be found in which the iron-clad customs of an antique age now lord it over the plastic years of childhood and youth without dispute or question. It may be that a single family somewhere in some back-eddy of the world still lives in its own ancestral grooves, knowing none other. But even that must be rare.

Hence, nowhere, probably, does the type of education described in the preceding pages fully obtain. Peering in at the door or window of the farm cottage; shouting its defiance down the streets of the city—everywhere the specter of a competing folk-way custom disturbs the old processes of education—in the family; in the neighborhood; in the school; in the church; in the economic group; in the political party; and even in the wedding ceremony, the specter is not laid. Everywhere, almost, is disillusion and disintegration. Almost nowhere the old unquestioning acceptance of the past merely because it is past.

Here, then, are three areas within which adult education might go on with some degree of significance, but each variantly. In the first area, such education does now go on, more or less importantly. In the second area, it also goes on—without much social help, often against social inclination, and at times with a considerable amount of social obstruction to overcome. All who want to preserve the freedom of the race, as expressed in the career of the refractory individual, must look with some degree of concern upon present efforts of school men to provide special education for "gifted children." Schools can easily destroy this precious gift of nature to a world too deeply steeped in its own arts.

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It is in the third area that the most significant program of adult education might deeply root itself. Here, men, women and children are lost, and they want help. Fundamentalists of every sort offer them help: religious, economic, political, moral, social, educational fundamentalists, all are ready to throw the lost individual a rope, promising him that the other end of the rope is attached to some "eternal verity," or "law of nature." At the other extreme, many of our so-called "scientists" offer these lost ones the prospect of being still more completely lost, for much of our "science" today concerns itself not at all with the task of discovering how life may be lived, but only with the task of stripping off from men everything that seems to smack of what it calls the "pre-scientific." Between the fundamentalist and the "scientist" of this stark sort, there is little to choose.

Adult education needs a great, positive, social program today. Our official schools do not know that the world is in flux. Outside the schools, education goes on, and will go on, and must go on. Is there enough intelligence outside the schools to organize education of the sort needed—an education that may even, in time, teach the schools what education is?

Learning to Learn

During the season of 1926-27, the New School for Social Research conducted four experimental classes in adult education. One of these groups, consisting of twenty-four students, pursued its studies under the caption, "The Content and Method of Adult Education." The following account of this experience was written by a member of the class.

THE main purpose of our group was to acquire the technique of leading adult classes. The individuals varied widely in age and experience, but their intellectual and academic equipment was relatively uniform. Each was engaged in some form of educational work. Almost everyone had completed undergraduate college work, and a number had gone on for further professional training and graduate study. All were addicted to the habit of courses. And not one but would secretly have confessed himself a member of the "intelligentsia." Surely they had been through the academic mill and knew the ropes. . . . Yet those who came to lead remained to learn.

The interest of these people in the movement was in the nature of a tacit acceptance of the philosophy underlying it. They recognized the cultural lag in our modern industrial society and the inadequacy of conventional modes of education for readjustment. They were throwing in their efforts with those who were seeking "The Way Out." Yet beneath and beyond these generalized aims was the personal vision of education as clarity and calmness—itself the be-all and the end-all here. With none of the pathetic eagerness nor dejected earnestness so often associated with attempts at "self-improvement," they were, nevertheless, moved by the desire to be rendered more effective human beings, by an impulse toward intellectual independence and spiritual wholeness which all their previous efforts had failed to achieve. It was not the accumulation of further knowledge that they were seeking. In an opinion test made up of some twenty varied theories of education gathered from current writings, those conceptions were given the most general approval which envisaged education as a liberation, a quickening. The personality as the dynamic factor had become central to their thinking, and life was conceived not merely as something which happens *to* us, but also something happening *from* us.

How accomplish this liberation, this quickening? How provide the release of those capacities which have lain dormant and unrealized? Clearly the knowledge most needed was self-knowledge: they would become aware of what it was that hindered their self-fulfillment, they would seek to make their limitations less limiting.

It was agreed that this program of self-discovery required, as the initial step, an examination of the attitudes of the members of the group as they reveal themselves in the learning process. These attitudes appeared of two-fold significance: within the *group* setting, they made for barriers in the path of concerted effort. And for the individual, they indicated underlying tendencies which would hamper him in any *personal* educational venture, if not inhibit him from undertaking it at all.

Most obviously prejudicial to harmony were found to be those emotional predispositions which recall the much vaunted inferiority and superiority complexes. It was the latter which made themselves felt in a variety of traits, a catalogue of which would run on much like Koko's chant, "I have a little list."

There was the tendency toward particularism, that preoccupation with an egocentric system of ideas which sees in every situation that arises but further proof for the applicability of a blanket theory. Problems are then faced, not with a view to seeking solutions; the sole reaction is one of unfavorable criticism of any proposal that is not patterned after a pet panacea, and discussion is but an opportunity for restating and reënforcing without modification previously acquired ideas.

Close kin to this was the susceptibility to overemphasis of vivid personal experiences, so that subjects were often seen in this context alone, and a chance remark would stimulate a digression irrelevant to the matter under discussion.

Then a mild condescension for amateur talk was sometimes apparent, an insistence upon quoting authoritative statements as clinching the question at issue, and an impatience with efforts to humanize

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and illumine the problem with a view to the inclusion of the experiences of the group members.

And then, occasionally, the inclination to find in the group meetings an opportunity for that exploitation of "personality and charm," whose satisfactions increase in geometric proportions with the number of spectators, appeared. (This *never* would be missed!)

At the opposite psychological pole, restraint and fear of unkind judgment so paralyzed thinking that on-going contributions could only with difficulty be elicited. Here a frequent intellectual refuge was found in the habit of waiting for authoritative statements from specialists to determine the next step in the thought sequence. Only one degree removed, yet far more difficult to unravel, was the close-knit web of rationalization which clung to the habit of suspended judgment in regard to all proposals and prevented the arrival at any form of coöperative conclusion.

But the limitation most vital to the education of this group, and most fruitful for their researches, was more widespread than any of these. To an extent unforeseen by the individuals, a vagueness of thought and a diffuseness of talk was revealed, which the lecture-habit and desultory reading had seemingly engendered. Becoming aware of these pull-backs in one another, each returned to an examination of himself, only to make the discovery that lo, his name led all the rest! So they began serious experimentation with their own thought processes and the learning habits they were bringing to the class. They were now no longer merely absorbing. They were taking a hand in their own re-education.

Although the word "tests" was used for brevity's sake, the experiments that followed were all carried on in a spirit of invention and exploration, the invention of methods, the exploration of the group members' minds, the test of their own assumptions regarding themselves. A brief talk and an article requiring approximately the same length of time for perusal, formed the basis. The subject-matter of both was chosen with a view to making it, in so far as possible, of equivalent interest, and both were direct and to the point, without simplifying illustration. In almost every instance, the capacity to recall the material presented was found to be considerably higher for the lecture than for the article. One reading appeared insufficient for most people to form any clear conception of the substance. Within two weeks almost all memory of it had vanished. Repeated readings were required before the chief points and the sequence had been inwardly digested and a coherent account could be given back. No correlation between recall ability and intelligence level could be found, the fluctuations in the latter being within a very small range. Nor was there any discoverable correlation between these and the ability to discriminate between facts and contentions in the material recalled. Contentions were frequently labelled facts; facts were rarely labelled contentions, however.

Many of the responses on these tests illustrated vividly the attitudes previously described, as well as their effects upon the capacity to take in new ideas. Comments were frequent in place of the recall requested. The reports of many were vague, based less on the material read than on their own previous knowledge and information gained from other sources. Some were, apparently, wholly self-generated. Throughout, interest was obviously the selective agent. The student's perception depended upon his past experience of the subject: what he did not already know was seldom assimilated, but the contents of the article were supplemented, redefined and transformed according to his earlier conceptions.

Following these experiments, the group turned to the scrutiny of their reading method and content. Of 170 books reported by twenty persons as read during the recent past, 30 percent were vocational, or had been assigned in connection with courses. In respect to subject matter, they fell into the following groups:

Fiction	42
Psychology	25
Education	22
Philosophy	13
Drama	12
Economics, trade unionism	10
Social problems	10
Biography and travel	10
Science	8
Religion	6
History	4
Poetry and essays	3
Miscellaneous	5

Only in rare instances was a plan or sequence of interest apparent in the list reported by an individual. For the most part, they had been browsing "like grazing cattle," as one member put it. (It was encouraging to note, however, that they had been less than customarily susceptible to the claims of the best seller of the moment. Current popular works, even those of semi-intellectual pretensions, by no means preponderated.) Few had any established habits in regard to time or manner of reading. The marking of personal books was frequent, but note-taking or the making of outlines or synopses, even of important books, was rare.

Much discussion and analysis of the results followed. It was, of course, recognized that the small number of people participating, and the inability to control the variable factors with anything approaching scientific precision, made broad generalization from these results untenable. There was no effort to make interpretations or conclusions applicable to others. What did emerge after these few months was a keener realization of the problems confronting each individual. This self-analysis, while only

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a part of the ground covered in connection with the training program, was a far more fundamental preparation for future leadership than all the *a priori* discussion of educational theory and method which also took place. These men and women could not, thereafter, go forth to practise authoritarian methods with other groups. They would be humble in their guidance, and their classes would be imbued with the spirit of joint searching.

And it was, in its essence, "adult education." Each had become alert to the quality of his own learning experience, so that the danger of traveling in circles or of making education a mere quantitative process would be more readily avoided. The question uppermost in each mind was that of the relevance of the course being pursued, of the direction of educational effort. Each had been set upon the way to fashioning in his own mind an instrument, a trained sensitivity for integrity in education. Each had become aware of that new possibility to which Dewey points—"In learning habits, it is possible to learn the habit of learning. Then betterment becomes a conscious principle of life."

HELEN J. MAYERS.

Will Workers Study?

THE Illinois mine worker's experiment in workers' education began in the summer of 1923, and went on uninterruptedly for three years, then suspended during the 1927 strike, and commenced again last month. The work was confined to one of the subdivisions of the Illinois miners' union known as Sub-District 5, located in the central part of the state, with headquarters at Taylorville. The union there, at a convention, created an education department, employed a full-time director, turned over to him the machinery of the union office, provided the funds to finance the activities, and gave active coöperation in the educational work. (Later, the American Fund for Public Service helped finance the work.) Seven strategic mining communities were selected to try out the experiment. In three months, the department was made a permanent part of the union organization, the educational program was enlarged, and, as I have already said, went on its way until the strike suspended all union activities.

The fact that the educational work has revived itself in the present demoralized condition of coal, speaks more for it than any other argument might indicate. When working men and women can sit down to study economic problems, in the midst of "shut down" coal mines, when their union is being attacked on every front, when its treasury is depleted, and starvation is just around the corner—it probably means that such workers have learned a few lessons well.

I was employed by the union to organize and direct the education department. I had had no previous experience in that kind of work, so that neither I nor anyone else in the union knew how it should be done. The pamphlets on how to start study classes, and books on workers' education dealing with the problem both here and abroad, were of little use. Set rules and plans, we found, did not fit into our situation. We had to build up through trial and error a plan that would fit our peculiar problem, and after the first six months we had a workable plan. Into our classes came men and women of various ages, most of whom had had different kinds of educational training, who spoke different languages and had adopted different philosophies of life. The one thing all of us had in common was the coal problem.

All our students were either coal miners or members of coal miners' families, so we started out from one common economic basis. Courses, we discovered early, were pretty much meaningless. History, economics, sociology, social problems, were foreign words to our student body. So we started out with a "Story of the Workers in the World," and we never changed the name, never started or stopped courses or subject. But we studied them all, nevertheless. We commenced with Egypt and Babylonia; we looked in at Greece and Rome, and the formation of Europe, through medieval times to the modern period when America began to play its part on the stage of the world; we studied the conquest of Mexico, and then through the early American colonial period. We learned why and how the United States of America was created; its system of government; its objective, and we emphasized, of course, the part our own kind of people, the workers, played in the American drama, as well as the part our ancestral slaves played in early days along the Mediterranean; the serfs in medieval history, and the chattel slaves in our own South.

The pre-Civil-War period, as well as the reconstruction period, gave us a chance to watch the "wage system" develop along with the rise of the current industrial system. By the time we got though the World War, we had a fair introduction to our present problem.

All sorts of new textbooks were introduced as our story unfolded, and in the end we completed one called "American Economic Life," but it was still a part of our first course or "story" that started three years before, and our students had no difficulty in seeing the obvious connection between wage slavery and all the other kinds that preceded it. They could easily compare the Coolidge antics to those of some silly Pharaoh of remote times, and all of them knew perfectly well that our present struggle against the modern industrial overlords is the selfsame struggle that we had followed down through history.

Trade unions and other working-class institutions naturally came in for consideration when we ran into them along the way. We had a great time do-

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ing it, and we changed the lives of many people in the course of our fun. We had social activities, student meets, where members of each class read papers, made speeches, organized games, and did all the other things that intelligent people do who take their place in the world seriously. We produced labor plays and showed them all through our district. We wrote one ourselves, about coal, that is now being produced by many groups far from Taylorville. We sent eleven young men and one girl to Brookwood Labor College for two more years of study; two young women to the Wisconsin School for Industrial Workers; another for two summers to Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers, and still another to the Chicago Women's Trade Union League School. Three of those mentioned above are still at Brookwood; two who graduated last year have just returned from Russia and Europe. The others are back in industry, doing whatever they can to build a stronger labor movement. Those who have returned to coal are leading the educational activities in Sub-District 5.

"Do the workers want education?" is a popular question these days, and another is: "Will the work last? Often, someone starts it and then goes away." I'll let our students in Illinois answer. They are now alone without an outside leader. The quotations that follow are from a woman student in Nokomis, Illinois. The student, by the way, is the mother of six children and, of course, the wife of a coal digger. It is dated January 19, 1928.

> Miss Hartel called on us last week and told us about her work at the summer school in Wisconsin University. She brought some of her papers along and we enjoyed examining them. It compensated us in a measure for missing that which we wanted so much. She is eager to get our classes going again and we have been busy ever since trying to round up all our old members. The most pressing problem confronting us seems to be just getting started. Nelson and I walked out to Marian's yesterday and suggested making the first meeting an entertainment. We have secured the assistance of several budding musicians of our miner folks and have set Friday, January 20, for the first meeting. Both Miss Hartel and Miss Studnick are in a position to obtain considerable talent among their school children and this fact will, we hope, induce many parents to attend, who otherwise might not feel the urge. We have often wished that you were with us again. However, we mean to do our best. Mr. Cuthbertson, Mr. Mulholland, are ready to help, and President Glasgow has promised to use his influence in getting classes started again. I assure you that we are very earnest to keep alive this spark you lighted in our peoples' hearts, and cannot be content to keep our candles hidden under a bushel.

And from another letter, dated January 23:

> It was splendid of you to have sent the telegram. It was read and served its purpose perfectly. Friday night brought a severe storm and our attendance was only forty-five. Nevertheless, the condition of the weather made evident the earnestness of those who did attend, and we feel very happy.
>
> Both Miss Hartel and Miss Studnick are elaborating their present plans and we are now confident that our classes will be a success.
>
> Very sincerely yours,
>
> Mary Edith Hewitt.

After my experience in Illinois, I should say the way to commence workers' education is just to start. If you plant the seeds well, the very nature of our present "soil" will make them grow.

TOM TIPPETT.

On the Prospects of Adult Education

LIKE most things English, the adult-education movement in England is best understood in terms of its history. Since the Industrial Revolution, it has passed, broadly speaking, through three distinct periods. Until 1850, it was, from the angle of the governing class, a curious mingling of piety and self-help. Men were anxious that the working classes should know their Bible; and, as with Dr. Pole, encouraged the formation of adult classes that the virtues of "meekness, Christian fortitude and resignation" might enable them the more fully to support the existing social order. Or, as with the economists who assisted the new Mechanics' Institutes, there was a widespread sense that the worker should be acquainted with the results of scientific discovery. At the worst, they hoped that industry would be provided with suitable foremen; and, at the best, they dreamed that an army of Watts' and Stephensons might arise.

To many the movement was fraught with grave danger to the stability of social structure. To teach the worker his power, thought one country gentleman, was to end his tractability. And that explains no small part of the motives which underlay the attitude of the workers themselves. For Owen and the coöperators, as for Lovett and his fellow chartists, the new knowledge might enable them to wrest from science the secret of the sudden power which was transforming their lives. "Get knowledge," the editor of the Flint Glassmakers' Magazine told his fellow trade-unionists in 1850, "and in getting knowledge, you get power." What was enduring in this early period among the workers was the

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sense, implicit in the trade unions and the coöperators, that the worker must, at all costs, obtain education if he was to be master of his own destiny. And the excitement of a revolutionary period, the false optimism it engendered that power was near at hand, created a movement which, in perspective, appears now remarkable not less for its breadth than its intensity. As early as 1844 Engels could draw attention to "working-men whose fustian jackets scarcely hold together [who yet] speak upon geological, astronomical, and other subjects with more knowledge than is possessed by the most cultivated bourgeois in Germany." That is, doubtless, the natural exaggeration of the agitator; but it is an index, especially in the context of scientific interest, to something real and impressive.

The impetus of the movement, however, did not survive the failure of Chartism. It was too scattered and too unsystematic to retain the loyalty of its constituents, once the novelty of a new industrial organization had disappeared. With 1850, and for the next half-century, we have a new period in which, though the older currents can still be detected, the emphasis shifts to a different direction. For the next fifty years, the outstanding fact is the desire of the educated middle class to do something to bring the benefits of education to the poor. Their own sense of civic responsibility was outraged by popular ignorance. They found People's Colleges in a score of towns, one or two of which, as in Leicester and London, still endure. They agitated for general education and university reform; and from their efforts were born state-aided classes on the one hand and the university-extension movement on the other. The period had, doubtless, a considerable achievement in the quality it inspired in industrial lives. But it is difficult to resist the general conclusion that it was well meant rather than successful. It contains, indeed, honored names, especially that of James Stuart. Yet, essentially, it was middle-class and philanthropic, and without deep root in the workers' activities themselves. It never confronted squarely the relation between its activities and the emancipation of the worker which is, after all, the ultimate problem of citizenship. It is a genteel period, in which the conscience of the better elements is awakened to a sense of responsibility for the lives of their fellows. It created little oases of humanism in the great desert of ignorance. But it did not cultivate corporate relations with the natural institutions of working-class life.

With the turn of the century, we enter upon the third period in the English effort. It saw (not least through the effort of Charles Beard) the foundation of Ruskin. The Workers' Educational Association came into being and issued its challenge to Oxford. The responsibility of the trade unions for educational activity was canvassed as in the days of Owen; and coöperative education entered upon a phase of new intensity. What, in fact, had happened was the full emergence of labor as a corporate force into the national life; and the revival of educational enthusiasm was simply a phase of that vaster effort of which the foundation of the Labor party is the political expression. Since that day, the movement has never looked back. The Workers' Educational Association, the Adult School Movement, the Educational Settlements Association, have grown by leaps and bounds. Government recognition has come; and not a few of the leading figures have become outstanding personalities in the national life. The universities have been compelled to play their part; and every university has now its extra-mural committee as an integral part of its activities. The War merely stimulated the development; and the famous Report of the Master of Balliol's Committee in 1918 was able to regard it as a movement fundamental to the future of the nation. Nothing, perhaps, shows so clearly the general strength of its hold than the vigorous conflict within the movement upon the question of its future character. For the National Council of Labor Colleges that future lies in a development totally unrelated to any "bourgeois" institution. They see it essentially as a weapon of emancipation which, to emancipate, must retain its independence of government and university and concentrate its teaching upon the predominant economic factor of life. For them the W. E. A. and similar bodies are merely organs of social appeasement. The W. E. A. certainly has lost all sense of that philanthropic aspect which played in the past so large a part. And it is certain that the working classes will not utilize any adult-educational institutions the character of which they do not themselves by definition determine.

What, for a movement so various and wide-reaching, does the future hold? Let us note, first, the complexity of the problems that confront it. Of these, four, at least, are outstanding. There is, first, the problem of the purposes of adult education. These, as might be expected, are a mighty field of controversy. The motives of students are rarely simple. Some come mainly for personal development; others are concerned to fit themselves for the task of social service. The organization that each requires is different; and, from the second, it is difficult to exclude the color of propagandist opinion. What is the duty of an organization seeking to combine service to both and relying on public funds? It is not an easy question to answer. Only recently, a branch of the W. E. A. seceded because the phrase "emancipation of the working class" was introduced into its constitution; and even so well known a Liberal as Graham Wallas uttered a cry of alarm at the phrase. The answer, I think, is to be found in the quality of the teaching. So long as any class is conducted on a high level of sustained effort, it ought to satisfy anyone who is concerned about the purpose the movement is to serve. For the business of any educational system is simply to breed

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skepticism of authority, and a high standard in itself produces that skepticism. That is, I think, the real answer of the W. E. A. to the criticisms of the Labor College. The one, at its best, produces a mind really capable of thought; the other, again at its best, produces a theologian, on the Jesuit model, who knows all the answers to expected objections and uses them with real subtlety. But that is not education.

The second problem is that of institutional structure. It is integral to the character of the movement that it should remain voluntary and self-governed. Money, therefore, must be spent by the associations who must be free in its use. But local authorities and the central government do not easily part with money save in return for control. The former show signs of short-circuiting the voluntary movement by creating institutions which they themselves direct; or, and this is true to some extent of the central government, demanding rights of inspection, methods of teaching, control of numbers taught and types to teach, which easily destroy the need for self-government. As yet, the problem is not serious. But because a satisfactory institutional pattern has not been found, it can quite easily become serious. Here, at least, my own view is clear. The paramount determinant of the conditions of effort must be the voluntary body. The life of the movement is in its spontaneity. Let that once be controlled from without, and its whole ethos will disappear. That means, I take it, that while the public authority is entitled to satisfaction as to the quality of the service it assists with funds, it must deny itself any further competence than this. Doubtless it is not easy to rest content with so small a share. The poison of absorptiveness is resident in all power by its nature; and while there are many public authorities, and notably the West Riding County Council, which are admirable in their restraint, there are others of which it can only be said that they are not slow to interfere. In this aspect the hopeful fact is that the movement will go on of its own strength, whatever the unwisdom of government. But it would not then, at least easily, win the extensiveness a wise habit of coöperation might confer upon it.

The third problem is that of the population to be won. I have elsewhere shown reason for supposing that serious adult-educational effort now touches in a continuous and coherent way a population of some half-million adults. That is, obviously, only a fraction of the possible constituency for adult education. The gaps are grave just in and after the adolescent period, in the rural areas, and among women; and, on the whole, as one would expect, it is the skilled rather than the unskilled worker who is attracted to the movement. The roots of this problem, of course, are to be found in the defects of the economic system. Serious intellectual training is not likely to attract any save a social *élite* among the workers so long as the school period normally ends at fourteen, when the hours of labor are long, security of employment uncertain, and the conditions for intellectual work at home rarely attractive. Here progress is bound to be painfully slow; and more will depend upon events in the political world than upon what propaganda by the movement can effect. To some extent, also, the problem is one of finance. Many classes are asked for today which the movement has not the funds to provide. The Board, especially since 1924, is not notable for its generosity; and since the Board contributes half of local expenditure, its present zeal for parsimony is reflected in the attitude of local authorities. Yet finance is only a minor aspect of the issue. Centrally, here, the growth of the movement depends on a vital improvement in the standard of working-class life, on the one hand, and a development of elementary education, on the other. The boy and girl must be convinced in the school period that the conquest of knowledge is a fascinating effort if they are to join the movement in large numbers in after life.

Fourthly, there is the problem of method in adult education. We deal with a population the motives of which are as various as their abilities and knowledge. Some of them can barely express themselves. Some have a fund of practical wisdom derived from contact with the stress of life. Some need less instruction in the facts than contact with a mature mind for the purpose of inspiration. Some, again, are literally unteachable; others have forgotten anything they once knew. They are young, and middle-aged and old. Some respond amazingly to a teacher whose standpoint is akin to their own; others require opposition to prick them into thought. Some give up the quest because the subject of their choice proves to be mistaken. The task of devising methods for a constituency so variegated is obviously no easy one. Hardly less difficult is that of discovering suitable teachers; it is not every day in the movement that one discovers a man like R. H. Tawney or G. D. H. Cole, or Horace Fleming, with exactly the genius required. And even if one does, the problem of finance is acute. It is a hard and, as yet, ill-paid life, with far too few full-time posts. There is always the danger of its attracting either the young university teacher who wants to supplement his income by taking a class, or a similar person who is waiting for a university chair. On the supply of teachers, fortunately, the British Institute of Adult Education will shortly publish a report which is destined to be an epoch in the history of the movement. But the problem of method remains; and until it is tackled in a similar way, there will be many dark places in the essential technique of the work. One of the greatest difficulties in the path of the British movement is the absence of adequate resources for financing research work of this kind. It has the necessary organ in the Institute, which, in a brief time, has at least won the confidence of all sides of the movement and given the promise of dis-

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tinctive achievement in research. But its funds are small; and one big inquiry, like that into the supply of teachers, hampers its efforts for a considerable period. One day, perhaps, a rich Englishman will see that research in this field is, at least, as fruitful as the endowment of university effort. But the day is not yet.

These are, of course, only glimpses of the wide prospects which need thorough analysis. Something ought to be said on the university aspect of the problem; here, briefly, if there has been advance, it has been far slower than might have been expected in 1918. The future impact of trade-unionism upon the movement is also important. Had it not been for the general strike, the Trade Union Congress might have had its workers' university, and a new and creative adventure might have opened; we must wait for an economic recovery for the fulfillment of that dream. Much, too, must be omitted of the relationship of the movement to political parties; above all, of the way in which its members have compelled the leaders of each to revalue their conception of the place of education in the State. Not less interesting would be an account of the amazing change in the character of settlements which the last ten years or so have effected, and, especially, of the promise implicit in such experiments as the Guildhouse in Rugby. If the movement, indeed, has its difficulties, it has also its achievements, and they offer the promise of a rich fruition. In the seven years that have passed since, on my return from America, I became a servant in its ranks, I have never seen cause to lose hope in its future. And I know no movement in English life today which offers work so creative or fellowship so intense. In that aspect it has the best quality of a great religion; and it is the more attractive than most of these in that one can see in its daily work the fulfillment of its prophecies.

HAROLD J. LASKI.

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